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The New Earth

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Devoted to the study and illustration of Social Problems on Moral and Religious Grounds

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The New Earth,

PUBLISHED IN SINGLE TAX INTERESTS ON THE FIRST OF EACH MONTH, BY

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FOR PUBLIC PURPOSES IN LIEU OF THE TAXES THAT NOW OPPRESS LA-
BOR AND CAPITAL AND RESTRICT THEIR PRODUCTIVE EMPLOYMENT.

IN a brochure recently issued containing a collection of prose poems, and entitled "War Echoes," Ernest Howard Crosby vigorously attacks war and the war spirit. If the term war be restricted to violent outbreaks of malicious hatred between man and man we heartily agree with Mr. Crosby, and with him fervently ask:

Good God! is it too much to hope that the day may come when every sane man will shrink from running a bayonet into a fellow-creature, as he would now shrink from torturing a baby?

Reading the book we are strongly drawn toward the author. We honor his lofty aspirations, we respect his motives, we admire his forceful method of expression. And did we not feel that in a sweeping, unqualified condemnation of all war there is involved the denial of the safeguard against aggressive evil which alone will insure enduring peace, we should be tempted to surrender to the doctrine of non-resistance.

But there is a kind of war that is not an expression of cruel malice, but on the contrary, of uplifting love. Mr. Crosby recognizes this in his poem entitled:

MY WAR.

I am a soldier, too; and I have the battle of battles on my hands.

You little warriors who, while fighting each other, are yet at heart agreed and see the same false life with the same distorted eyes,

I have to make war upon all of you combined, and upon the infernal War Spirit which inspires you in the bargain.

I set my courage against your courage.

It is fine not to flinch under fire.

It is also fine to tell an unwelcome truth to a mob, and to call you the mad lot of murderers that you are.

It is war between us to the knife, and I will not tell you how well I love you until you are shamed into unconditional surrender.

Nobly said! But in this kind of righteous warfare must the battle field be confined to the world of words? Are there not just occasions when this love-born war spirit must descend to the plane of actual deeds, and slay, if it cannot otherwise subdue, the body of the foe? In his poem, "The Tiger," Mr. Crosby strongly suggests an affirmative answer:

Down with the tiger in each of us!

He has his proper place, no doubt, in the economy of nature, but it is in the depths of our own private bottomless pit. There he growls and mutters as he chafes behind the bars.

If we could kill him, we should straightway fly into atoms, and if war and lust and hatred open the grating and let him spring to the surface he is sure to turn the world upside down.

There is only one safe course to pursue: lock him up firmly and securely, and pay no heed to his subterranean roar.

But suppose the tiger spirit in some human soul will not be locked up. Or suppose the grating, by any means, gets open, and the wild beast loose; how then will it fare with the human principles of that soul under the doctrine of non-resistance? Would not all noble aspirations, all love of the well-being of others, all the precious possibilities of God-like development that go to make up the man within that soul become a prey to the tiger, and simply furnish him nourishment? Plainly in such a soul the man-principle must either wage fierce war or court destruction. The tiger must be met on his own plane. He must be attacked, aggressively attacked, over-matched and conquered. And then only can there be peace in that soul, a peace conducive to human progress.

Suppose again, that in this inner soul-war of good against evil, evil should predominate, and the tiger-spirit come into undisputed rule of the whole being. Would not such a tiger-man be a deadly danger to his neighbors? In the community, regarded as a body, would not this tiger-man bear the same relation to his peace-loving

as does the tiger-spawn, the tendencies in the individual soul? The only safe course for the lovers of peace and progress is to keep such a man safely locked up. But suppose he will not be peaceably locked up? Or suppose a number of such haters of their fellow-men herd together and combine in their assaults upon their well-meaning neighbors? How then would it fare with these latter under the doctrine of non-resistance? Clearly, soft measures would not answer. Moral suasion would fail. If the higher life of the community is to be saved from destruction this army of tiger-men must be met on their own plane, attacked aggressively, overcome and subdued. And a war for this purpose might be waged "to the knife" without malice or hatred to the persons of the enemy, but from motives of pure love for all that is good.

Again, let us suppose that the evil principle that we have named the "tiger," together with the swine principle, and the fox, and all the other destructive and unclean principles which any man may find lurking in the basement and sub-cellar of his soul,—suppose these evil principles should gain such complete control over the affairs of a nation as to shape and rule its policy toward neighboring nations, would not such a tiger-nation bear the same relation to the whole family of nations as the tiger principle bears to the other principles of the human soul?

In the past this anti-human spirit seems to have dominated the policy of most nations. And history pictures to us little else besides a perpetual combat of wild-beast nations on a blood-soaked earth. But in the course of time and under the progress of evolution when the reappearance of a nation that shall aspire to harmony with its human principles, with the highest conceptions of human principle, how will it fare with such a nation surrounded by a gathering of tiger-nations if it refuse to meet the assaults with war?

The doctrine of non-resistance, fascinating as it is to our finer sensibilities, seems to fail when we apply it to the ultimate test of necessary dealings with aggressive evil; for there is a point at which non-resistance on the part of good becomes the crime of suicide. And we see no escape from the conclusion that wherever evil is virulent and aggressive the entrance to the highway of peace can be reached only through the gateway of war.

L. E. WILMARTH.

A PRESENT DAY RIDDLE.

Once upon a time a warrior-judge of Israel, Samson — a man who had overcome a lion that "roared against him," and controlled three hundred foxes to do some devastating work for him—put forth a riddle for his enemies to solve. The riddle was suggested to him by an experience of his own, and was as follows: "Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the

strong came forth sweetness. This riddle it would seem as if only he who put it forth could solve.

Today another riddle has been given to some of us to solve. The present day is something like what Samson's would be if it lay upside down, and runs somewhat in this wise: "Out of the eater comes forth assumptions of infallibility, out of the strong for all who are not infallible; out of the peace-lover, the non-resistant and the promoter of peace, justice comes forth the most unfair, the most unjust, the position and the most bitter attack upon the motives of others."

Perhaps this riddle, like Samson's, can only be solved by those who put it forth. Perhaps even they cannot solve this. In any case it were kinder for others to solve it.

A. J. AUCHE.

THE following is an open letter to the czar of Russia by the Single Tax Society of Germantown, Pa.

Referring to your majesty's recent proposition to the nations of Europe to hold a conference looking to a general reduction of armaments in the interests of peace, we, the Single Tax Society of Germantown, Pa., U.S.A., render your majesty our sincere thanks, and most respectfully beg leave to call your majesty's attention to the fact that the most powerful agent working for universal peace is trade or commerce. Trade brings people together, makes them acquainted, and knits between them bonds of mutual interest. It thus tends to remove the animosities resulting from ignorance and prejudice, and promotes among men the feeling of the solidarity of the race.

And not alone from these higher motives but from what may be considered in contrast merely sordid "business interests," trade tends to promote peace, inasmuch as it builds up powerful commercial interests whose success, nay, very existence, depends upon the prevention of war. Therefore the freer trade is the better must be the chances for peace. Since your majesty favors peace we desire to call your majesty's attention to this most potent means of promoting it.

Owing to your majesty's great power as absolute sovereign of all the Russias your majesty can easily remove all barriers to trade in that empire, and thus confer a blessing not alone upon your majesty's own subjects, but also, through them, on the rest of the world, while at the same time employing the most effectual of all means for the promotion of peace among the nations of the earth.

A RUSSIAN'S VIEW OF THE CZAR'S MANIFESTO.

THOSE who are familiar with this paper will not accuse us of excessive loyalty to the Russian throne, nor of any childish confidence in the sincerity of the utterances and doings of the czar and his government, yet we must hail with delight the czar's peace manifesto, whatever the motives may be which prompted it, or whatever the practical decisions the forthcoming conference may arrive at. The knowledge and judgment of the emotions of the human soul and heart belong to God. We mortals can and must judge acts alone. The czar and his ministers are certainly but human beings, and we have no doubt they earnestly wish the welfare of their country, though watching their own personal interests first, and consequently not choosing the ways and measures which alone would lead to progress and well-being from our point of view, . . .

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We say once more the efforts of some papers to minimise the importance of the now historical manifesto, and point to the czar's insincerity and secret designs, are foolish and wicked. We have no practical possibility of entering into the secret recesses of anybody else's soul, and have no right to be guided by surmise and suspicion alone. Not less than anybody else, do we know the sins of czars and their governments, yet, on this occasion, we hesitate not to appeal to all to give the czar's proposal all possible support.

The czar's manifesto is comforting in many other directions. It shows in the first place, that the representative of the cruelest autocracy in existence, is not ignorant of, and not impenetrable to the humanitarian ideas agitating the minds of more civilized nations; that he is open to the influences of public opinion of Western Europe, and desires to show himself a champion of the advanced thought of the age. This proves once more Darwin's familiar statement that no organism can live which is out of harmony with its environment, a natural law which holds good with ideas and institutions too. It inspires one with the firm faith that, sooner or later, the czar's autocratic power will have to yield, and altogether disappear under the pressure from both within and without. It is only then that the millenium will really begin, as the world at large will have no longer to depend for its peace and security on the mercy and goodwill of a single potentate.

—*Anglo-Russian, London, Eng.*

THE Brooklyn Women's Single Tax Club are sending to such women in Greater New York as they believe to be interested in social and economic questions the following circular:

Dear Madam:

Women are being called to more active participation in public affairs each succeeding year, and are wisely preparing themselves to deal with these affairs more intelligently.

What seems to be most needed is a thorough understanding of the principles which govern our social and economic life.

Therefore for the season of 1898-'99, the Women's Single Tax Club has decided to study Henry George's book, "Social Problems." The chapters have been combined to occupy seven meetings. At each meeting, members of the club will read papers based upon the chapters in the book. These will be followed by a discussion of the subject in which any one present may take part.

The club desires the impartial discussion of principles, not the upholding of opinions of any person. Henry George, in the book, says "I ask no one who may read this book to accept my views; I ask him to think for himself."

The meetings of this club are held the second Tuesday of each month, at 3 P.M., at 1101 Bedford Ave.

You are cordially invited to attend all, or any, of these meetings; and to participate in the discussion, or to listen.

SOCIALISM DEFINED BY A SOCIALIST.

THERE is a movement, voiced by more than one publication, to promote social advance by means of frankly asserted egoism. Much more common and more loudly announced is the claim that social advance involves a largely increased altruism. The last theory is negatively accepted by the mass of people, who con-

sider Socialism as a sort of heavenly state, involving continuous abnegation of self.

As a sociological fact, the progress of society from individualism to socialism rests upon neither of these feelings, yet involves both. A Socialistic community more highly organized than an individualistic one, but there is neither vice in the one condition nor virtue in the other.

A piece of beef is no more virtuous than a piece of protoplasm, but it is more highly organized.

What we call altruism—"otherness,"—is in further development only "usness;" it involves self, it is an extension of self-consciousness into a wider range of organic activity.

For two people each to work alone for himself is a low form of production. For two people each to give all to the other is no gain on the egoistic process.

But for two people to combine forces and work for, their common interests produces more benefit for each and is therefore higher, wiser, better, a later development of energy.

Such a union is egoism—each profits by it. It is altruism—each profits the other. But most distinctly it is Socialism; an organic union, which profits all its constituents and leads them on into ever-widening spheres of consciousness and activity.

No man can choose whether he will belong to a society or not—he does belong to it by birth.

He can leave it—as a soldier leaves his army, by desertion.

He can corrupt and injure it by morbid action, as a criminal; either the legal, sub-legal or super-legal kind. He can benefit it by conscious co-operation.

But in any case in it he is; and he is to be rated good or bad by his relation to society.

Egoism that subtracts from the social good for the individual is wrong. Wrong because it is anti-social; because if all did it there would be no society, and therefore no constituent individuals.

Is any egoist so ignorant as to imagine that men would remain men without social relation? Below social relation are only beasts.

Altruism that subtracts from the social good for any other individual or individuals is wrong for the same reason. If carried to its logical extreme it would leave friends, families or groups struggling against each other, and tend to reduce society to such constituent groups and their limited possibilities.

An altruism which includes all, even to oneself, is Socialism. It is justice, health, common sense. It is the kind of altruism which Jesus taught when he said, "Love thy neighbor as thyself."

The most aspiring altruist may be satisfied with Socialism, in which he can give his whole life to the service of his whole society. That it profits himself need not distress him—for some reactive sense of profit accompanies even martyrdom.

The most degraded egoist can take comfort to his soul in Socialism; for it will serve his ends, furnish him with gratification, give room for his pleasures and ambitions, as no individual effort ever could.

But when we have grown on to a fuller degree of Socialism than now obtains, we shall forget these negative and unsatisfactory distinctions.

A conscious Socialist—not “class-conscious,” but wholly conscious—will not focus his thoughts on himself or on other selves; but live in the large sense of social being to which all selves are but contributory.

Here shrinks back the egoist, fearing that he lose his own consciousness in this vague “social being.”

Friend egoist, be not alarmed. Human consciousness is lodged in the individual. However wide and full our realization of the social life, that realization is in the individual mind.

The effect upon the individual mind is of enlarged personality.

To say “The state—that is I,” is not to lose one’s personality in the state, but to enclose the state in one’s enlarged personality.

The ultimate Socialist will call the world “I.” Position does not involve exclusion.

If there were but one American he would not own America more, but less.

There is no wise end for conscious effort but toward our common gain, that which includes all and excludes none.

Again, the egoist shivers at fear of losing personal freedom.

Friend, the condition of full personal freedom has been proved best for the social good, and therefore, as we advance in socialization, more and more freedom is guaranteed the individual.

A further socialized community will look back pityingly at the restrictions under which the freest of us live today.

It is no means necessary that all members of society should fully realize their condition; but, on the contrary, it is quite conceivable that an absolutely consecrated social servant—an artist, for instance—should live and die in the full conviction that he was only working to please himself.

All true social service will please the individual, and he need no more be required to rise to a full understanding of his position than a healthy finger need be able to philosophize about its relation to the brain.

—Charlotte Perkins Stetson, in the *American Fabian*.

THE SINGLE TAX A JOHN THE BAPTIST.

ONE of the most important utterances of him to whom more than to any other we are indebted for knowledge of God’s ways with man, is that “a man cannot be conjoined to the Lord *unless he be spiritual*; nor can he be spiritual *unless he be rational*; nor can he be rational *unless his body be in a sound state*.”

All concerned, either for their children’s or for their fellow men’s spiritual enlightenment and regeneration, ought to awake, therefore, to this first need of all people having equal access to the natural sources of wealth, so that none may live idly, uncomfortably, sadly or anxiously, but all industriously, comfortably and joyously; so that all may have leisure and means for the acquisition of useful knowledge, for the cultivation of reason and the finer perceptions and sensibilities; so that all may have needed recreation and rest and strength and decent appearance; so that none may shrink from the places where the learned, the refined and the religious congregate; so that there may be no artificial class distinctions; so that every path be made straight and every hill be brought low for the coming of the Lord.

And of all the other sciences that combine the exercise and development of both the rational and moral faculty and thus prepare the way for the spiritual, none is equal to that of *the science of society*.

—*New Christianity*.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NEW EARTH:

Being perplexed by various conflicting statements as to what exactly was asked for by the Single Taxers of Glasgow and other towns in England and Scotland in their petitions to parliament, I wrote to Mr. John Paul, editor of the *Glasgow Single Tax*, asking him to give me some precise information on the subject. I send you his reply so far as it bears on the question, with liberty to publish it if you think best.

Yours,

J. A. KELLOGG.

MR. PAUL’S REPLY.

It is quite true that the old land tax of 200 years ago exists to-day; but it is a mere nominal figure, and falls on land, not on the *value* of land, so that it does not reach unused valuable land, and has no economic effect in forcing such land into use. It is also true that municipal rates and taxes fall on property; land values, as such, escape. Unused land is also exempt from any contribution to the rates.

Glasgow, and now some 300 rating authorities throughout Britain, have petitioned parliament for powers to rate land values, not to apply the Single Tax, but to tax *land* values. As to how this differs from your system of local taxation in the United States I cannot say, but here it would make a vast difference, by not only reducing the rates but by destroying the monopoly of land in and around our populous centres. If the owners of vacant land had to pay taxation on its value, even if the tax was small, it would tend at once to force them to put it to use or find some one who would. The present system encourages such people to keep desirable and valuable land out of use in anticipation of receiving the future value. A tax upon land values would destroy forever this expectation, for once we commence this “new tax” it would be argued by all that it could advance to 20s. in the £. Looked at in this light we are practically agitating for the Single Tax at the point of least resistance.

The term *feu* is not known in English law. It is a Scottish term, and *feuing* is the Scottish system. In England they lease land for so many years. At the expiration of the lease, every thing, land and improvements, falls into the hands of the land owner. In Scotland, land is *feued* forever, that is to say, you *feu* or take over a piece of ground for so much per annum and you then become the land owner. The original land owner, therefore, no matter how valuable the land may become, can never increase the amount you pay or may have agreed to pay. This makes more people in Scotland interested

in taking land values, but the principle is the same. And of course when land values are rated the amount of the tax will be distributed over all the owners; each will pay in proportion to the amount of land value appropriated.

ON THE NAME "SINGLE TAX."

APROPOS of the article by J. H. Wells on the name Single Tax, I desire to set forth additional reasons, some of which have never seen in print, why that term should be retained. Mr. George always held that there was nothing new in the Single Tax idea—that it had always been accepted in a more or less degree, consciously or unconsciously, by mankind. He only demonstrated more clearly than any previous investigator the existence of a natural law governing taxation which had been more or less recognized by men in all ages. This is all he ever claimed to have done. The term "Single Tax," studied etymologically and with relation to the movement, verifies the truth of this statement. In Maryland, where there exists a great many "ground rents," we have a curious illustration of the historical truth of the foregoing statement. It is customary to refer (in law and common speech) to land held without any ground-rent as held in "fee simple." Fee simple is an old English law term, which literally translated into modern English, means single tax, "fee" signifying tax, and "simple" single. It originated when England was divided up amongst the Normans; those who got the land direct from the king holding it in "fee simple." That is, they were subject only to the one tax in contradistinction to the holders under them, who were subject to as many taxes as their lords could extort from them, just as the masses of the people are now.

There is also a curious connection with the etymology of the word "rent" as given in a letter from Mr. George, published in *The Standard*, when he was in England. In this letter the statement is made by a distinguished etymologist of the university of Oxford, whose name is withheld, that the word "rent" has the same root as the word "rid" or "ridden," that is, that a payment in kind, service, or otherwise, rids the payer of his just debt to the king. If this view should turn out to be the true one, a tax on land value may be accepted in future as the only strictly legal tax conforming to true English law. As law consists mainly in definitions we would have the law with us if an important judge or two should accept this definition.

Not claiming to be a lawyer, my individual opinion on this matter is worthless as to the law. But on the etymology of the words referred to one man's opinion is as good as another's if he takes the trouble to look up the matter. The science of language teaches us that in our speech lies the evidence of the unity of mankind and our common brotherhood. The great fundamental ideas upon which man's social status is founded are also to be found in the words he uses, or has used, under varying conditions. Hence the importance of a terminology of a clear and unmistakable character, like the phrase "Single Tax," which approaches nearly but not exactly "*l'impôt unique*" of the French physiocrats. The difference, that lies between these terms is in favor of "Single Tax," as now understood, in that it is less vague than the phrase of the Frenchman, though when rendered into English it is an exact translation. If we of this generation accomplish nothing else we have at least fixed in the English language forever the phrase "Single Tax," which will be an enduring monument.

No possible advantage can be shown for a change in the name. When this is the case why change what the great majority of those who hold to the Single Tax faith look upon almost as an inspiration coming to Mr. Thos. G. Shearman, to whom, if my memory serves, rather than to Mr. George, belongs the honor of baptizing the movement as "the Single Tax." Everything goes to prove the wisdom of this name, which was fully accepted by Mr. George during his lifetime, and by all his followers, so far as the writer knows.

WM. N. HILL, M.D.

A PRACTICAL ILLUSTRATION.

THE Brooklyn Single Tax League, at one of its recent meetings, discussed the question: "Has the extension and cheapening of transit facilities benefited the people of Greater New York?"

The effect of the extension and cheapening of

its facilities is practically illustrated in Brooklyn and the subject brought out, therefore, an expression of opinion from many points of view.

A gentleman in the real estate business cited the following for the purpose of proving that the working man, rather than the landlord, is being benefited. He cited the case of a number of working men who had formerly paid twenty dollars a month rent for a flat in the city, who were now paying fifteen dollars a month purchase money on a house in the outskirts, where they not only had all conveniences of a city house, but a garden and plenty of fresh air besides. This is a result of the trolley, with its five cent fare, which enables them to get to work as quickly and as cheaply as in former days when living in the city, and depending upon horse cars. On the other hand, houses and flats were empty in some of the older parts of the city, and real estate there had depreciated at least twenty-five per cent.

Our real estate visitor was asked: "What are the lots worth which you speak of on the outskirts?"

"Five hundred dollars a lot."

"What did they sell for before the days of the trolley and five cent fares?"

"Nothing; couldn't sell them: one hundred dollars a lot was dear."

"Then it seems that land in the outskirts has increased four hundred per cent., while the real estate in the city to which you referred has depreciated only twenty-five per cent."

The Single Tax meaning of the word landlord was then defined as being the owner of the land only, and it was shown that the increase in value of land in the outskirts was owing to the demand for it for use, and the depreciation of real estate in certain parts of the city was not owing to the extension and cheapening of transit facilities, but because of the depreciation in the value of improvements, and because buildings could now be erected at a much less cost than in former years.

No doubt in certain sections of the city land values have fallen, but this is owing to the fact that the centres of trade have shifted.

As the extension of transit facilities enlarges the community and so increases land values, should the community, instead of the landlord, collect ground rents, every individual would be benefited by extension and cheapening of transit facilities.

M. CEBELIA HOLLISTER.

EGOISM is a better servant than altruism, if only it is made to serve justly. Without self-interest there can be no interest—indeed no self, no man. . . . That which a man holds and can use or dispose of as his own is his ground of delight, whether that delight be heavenly or infernal. And it is right that it should be so. . . . Private ownership is not of itself wrong, and should never be abolished—only kept within its proper limits. We might as well talk of abolishing a man's ownership of himself.

—New Christianity.

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FOR THOSE WHO FAIL.

"All honor to him who shall win the prize,"
The world has cried for a thousand years;
But to him who tries, and who falls and dies,
I give great honor and glory and tears.

Give glory and honor and pitiful tears
To all who fail in their deeds sublime,
Their ghosts are many in the van of years,
They were born in Time in advance of Time.

Oh, great is the hero who wins a name,
But greater, many and many a time,
Some pale-faced fellow who dies in shame,
And lets God finish the thought sublime.

And great is the man with a sword undrawn,
And good is the man who refrains from wine;
But the man who fails and yet still fights on,
Lo! he is the twin-born brother of mine.

—Joaquin Miller.

J. S. CROSBY'S LECTURE TOUR.

THE Ohio tour included the following towns in that State: Marietta, Pomeroy, Middleport, Portsmouth, Columbus, Newark, Zanesville, Canton, Akron, Youngstown, Cleveland, Toledo, Findlay, Ottawa, Springfield, Hamilton, Trenton, Dayton, Lebanon, Cincinnati, Troy, and Middletown, and the town of Newport in Kentucky. Engagements at Massillon, Alliance and Warren were cancelled on account of a heavy cold and sore throat. The longest stays were made at Dayton, Columbus, Cleveland and Cincinnati. Fifty-five addresses were made in all, twenty-five of them in the open air, and the remainder in churches, opera houses, city halls and court houses. The meetings were generally well attended, the audiences manifesting a lively and intelligent interest in the Single Tax. The name of Henry George everywhere commanded the most sincere respect even from those unacquainted with his teachings. Particularly gratifying was the interest which the churches are taking in the new phase of the old gospel. Introductory remarks were made by clergymen, lawyers, physicians, editors, mayors, members of the legislature and of congress. The press for the most part gave generous notices of the meetings, and treated the Single Tax with encouraging fairness and intelligence. The most gratifying feature of the tour, which extended from August 4 to October 2, was the enthusiasm of earnest Single Taxers found in every town. The exhibition of their unwavering faith made manifest by their untiring work could not fail to strengthen the most faint hearted of Single Taxers. Their hospitality and good fellowship is not unlike that of the early Christians.

I think the tour was all that could reasonably have been expected, well worth the time and labor devoted to it by those that labored for it, and they were many. I met some of the grandest souls on earth.

JOHN S. CROSBY.

We append a few extracts from Ohio newspapers, showing their appreciation of Mr. Crosby's lectures.

EDS.

JUDGE Crosby stirred up the audience by his eloquence in preaching for human rights, and by his strong exposition of the Single Tax as a means of furthering human emancipation. He spoke of the incident at Henry George's funeral, when Father McGlynn paraphrased the New Testament text, and said: "There was a man sent from God whose name was Henry George." He said that shook the vast audience like an aspen. Then he said that every man who stands for the truth, without fear or favor, and pleads for human liberty, is a man sent from God. Here he laid his hand on the shoulder of Mayor Jones, and the crowd cheered and cheered again.

—Evening Bee, Toledo.

WHILE Mr. Crosby disclaims the title of being a lecturer, his speeches on the Henry George theory have met with a great deal of attention wherever he has been. He has the theory of the great Single Taxer thoroughly at heart, and believes it to be the only solution of the social troubles of the present day.

—Cleveland Plaindealer.

HIS strong handsome features resemble to a remarkable degree those of President McKinley.

—Republic Times, Springfield.

HIS voice, manner of speaking and facial expression remind one of William J. Bryan.

—Pomeroy Democrat.

MR. CROSBY is a lecturer of much merit. The reporter became so much interested in his talk that he neglected to take a very full report.

—Dayton paper.

ONE of the most brilliant and thrillingly eloquent speakers ever heard in Springfield is judge John S. Crosby, of New York City, who spoke last night at the Commercial Club on "Henry George and his Mission." Many of the representative men of the city were present, and all were enthralled by the speaker's magnificent oratory.

—Springfield Daily Democrat.

THE Fifth Avenue Presbyterian church was crowded Sunday night, the occasion being the lecture of judge John S. Crosby, of New York, on "The Mission of Henry George." . . . Mr. Crosby declared at the outset that no great reform could be accomplished without the co-operation of the churches. He declared, also, that the churches were becoming interested in the Single Tax movement, and as an evidence of the fact stated that all over the country he had accepted invitations to speak from Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, and Unitarian pulpits.

—Press-Post, Columbus.

HE paid a high tribute to Henry George, and asked if there was a labor question because men did not want to work. Surely not, but because men did want work and could not find it. Why should there be a labor question? The labor unions seek to find a way to

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raise wages, and have been great instruments of good, but back of all is how to get any wages. Unions can only keep up the wages of their members, but can not provide labor for others.

—*The Commercial Tribune, Cincinnati.*

"WE are now living in God's time, and I expect to live to see the accomplishments of the life work of Henry George, at least in this country. A nation which will spend millions of dollars and sacrifice hundreds of lives to give justice and liberty to a million of foreigners will give liberty and justice to sixty millions of its own people."

—*J. S. C., quoted in The Western Star, Lebanon.*

A QUESTION ANSWERED.

ED. TIMES:—Through your columns will you kindly permit me to answer, as best I can, the following question sent me by postal card, but which I inadvertently omitted to answer from the platform:

Portsmouth, O., Aug. 10, 1898.

MR. CROSBY:—How must the women proceed to procure the right to vote at all political elections?

Signed,

PORTSMOUTH WOMAN.

Let them endeavor to promote an intelligent public opinion as to the true nature and legitimate functions of government. The warrant for government is based on the right of self-defense. Government is the organized self-defense of communities. A woman has as much right to defend herself and her own as a man has. As soon as men see this clearly their sense of justice and fair play will move them to give women an equal voice in the government. Respectfully,

JOHN S. CROSBY.

THE INTERNATIONAL IDEAL.

WHEN feudalism was breaking up, the forces which went to nation-making were religion and militarism. Thus the church and the army became the symbols of national unity and independence. Out of this state of things grew the belief that the interests of the various nations of Europe were antagonistic. The wars which this belief fostered did much to keep back progress on the Continent: a circumstance which we profited by, our insular position enabling us to develop our industrial resources while our neighbors were engaged in a colossal Donnybrook. Now, the confusion into which the political mind of the country has fallen is due to non-observance of the fact that both religion and militarism as nation-creators have done their work. The national must now give place to the international ideal. . . . This will seem sheer drivel to those who maintain that in trade national interests are naturally antagonistic. But once the mind rubs off this superstition bred by our antiquated education, and rises to the view that free trade is not synonymous with a clash of interests, but in essence means mutually advantageous exchange of services. Once this view is reached there flashes on the mind the vision of a time when the whole world will

be bound together by the golden chain of enlightened self-interest—a self-interest which recognizes the truth that, given the conditions of liberty and justice, the gain of one is the gain of all. Free trade thus appears in its true light as from the economic side the application of Christian ethics to the international sphere. Nations, instead of being hated rivals, each armed to the teeth lying in wait for the other, are seen to be members of a great federation, each developing its resources to the utmost, and exchanging its products in harmony and with mutual profit. Just see how this new view would clear the air. Suppose our rulers frankly recognized that so far from the prosperity of Russia giving cause for alarm, her prosperity was a thing to be commended and helped, as a factor in our prosperity—suppose such a view obtained sway, our foreign difficulties would suddenly vanish. Will our rulers reach this view? Will they grasp the key to the international situation which lies to hand in international economics? If they do not, then the century may close in revolution as the previous centuries closed. The seventeenth century closed with the English revolution, a domestic revolution; the eighteenth century closed with the French revolution, a national revolution. If the nineteenth century closes with a revolution it will be an international revolution. Everything depends on the attitude of our rulers to political economy, which is emphatically the message of God to our day and generation. In the book of fate, in the scroll of destiny, there are written the momentous words, the nation which puts out the eyes of its mind, and deliberately kicks against the nature of things, is doomed to everlasting destruction.

—*Edinburgh, Scotland. Evening News.*

"WHERE HOT CORN GROWS."

ANNIE DEUTCH is eight years old, an East Side child, to whom until the other day New York was the whole world. Then she strayed on to a steamboat and was carried away, crying and afraid, to Stamford, Connecticut, where she saw sights that she tells about now to other children who listen to her as the people of the thirteenth century hearkened to the tales of the far-travelled Marco Polo. Annie saw on trees things that East Side infancy sees only on their native pushcarts—peaches and pears and apples. But most amazing of all, she actually beheld "hot corn growing in a big yard." There are thousands of little ones like Annie in this big city, children pathetically ignorant of nature and its beauties—small barbarians of civilization, to whom the universe seems constructed only of hard brick and stone.

—*New York Journal.*

If they be earnest men, I appeal to landholders as confidently as to any other class. There is that in a great truth that can raise a human soul above the mists of selfishness,

—*Henry George.*

THE NEW EARTH

A young woman, who has suffered for years from what the doctors have called "nervous dyspepsia," wishes me to state to my readers that she has been completely cured by dropping medicine and living almost entirely upon Bovinine.

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—New York paper.

THE NEW CHRISTIANITY

A MONTHLY JOURNAL,

S. H. SPENCER, Ithaca, N.Y.

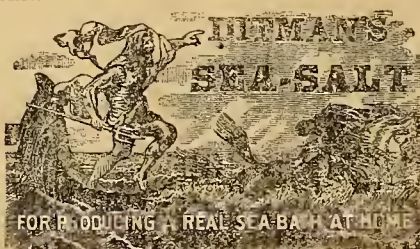
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Devoted to the study and illustration of Social Problems on Moral and Religious Grounds

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PUBLISHED IN SINGLE TAX INTERESTS ON THE FIRST OF EACH MONTH, BY

JOHN FILMER,
L. E. WILMARTH,
A. J. AUCHTERLONIE, } *Editorial*
M. CEBELIA HOLLISTER, } *Board.*

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THE OPENING OF ALL NATURAL OPPORTUNITIES TO LABOR AND CAPITAL,
SO THAT BOTH MAY BE FULLY AND CONSTANTLY EMPLOYED AND RE-
CEIVE THEIR FULL EARNINGS.

TO EFFECT THIS,

WE WOULD TAKE THROUGH TAXATION THE RENTAL VALUE OF LAND, COM-
PLETELY EXEMPTING IMPROVEMENTS, AND WOULD USE THIS REVENUE
FOR PUBLIC PURPOSES IN LIEU OF THE TAXES THAT NOW OPPRESS LA-
BOR AND CAPITAL AND RESTRICT THEIR PRODUCTIVE EMPLOYMENT.

GEORGE GREEN, vice president, and county coun-
cillor (Lanarkshire, Scotland), has through *The Single*
Tax, Glasgow, issued an appeal for a fund of £500 to
enable Single Taxers to carry forward the cause of the
taxation of land values, so that it may become a, if not
the test, question at the next general election.

WE have received from George J. Bryan of To-
ronto a brief outline of the lecture tour arranged for
John S. Crosby in Canada. Mr. Crosby spoke three
times in Toronto, at the anniversary dinner of the
Henry George club on the 18th ult., from the Inde-
pendent pulpit of Rev. S. S. Craig, and in the Pavilion.
He spoke in the opera house, Guelph, on the 20th, be-
fore the town council, and in the town hall, Galt, on
the 21st, and was to speak on later dates in Brantford,
Cobourg, Peterboro, Brockville, Montreal, and other
places.

IMPORTANT DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF COM- MONS.

THE amendment to the queen's speech at the
opening of parliament in the early part of February
last offered by the opposition was marked by a debate

of more than ordinary interest, and was of special sig-
nificance to Single Taxers.

The amendment was as follows :

And we humbly express our regret that there is no indi-
cation in your majesty's gracious speech that measures will
be submitted to this house dealing with the ownership, tenure,
or taxation of land in towns.

It is noticeable in all the reports we have received
of the debate that the speeches of the supporters of
the amendment were marked by vigor and directness
and a perception of the great scope of the principles
embodied in it ; while on the other hand, the members
of the government offered no real opposition, and
showed an utter lack of apprehension of the sub-
ject.

Of course the amendment was not carried, for the
reason that the government having a large majority
in the house, its adoption would have been equivalent
to a vote of censure. The discussion, however, showed
that an apprehension of the force of the amendment
was not confined to members of the liberal party. In
a vote of 280 the government majority was only 34.

Of course the people of this country will under-
stand that the taxation of land values in England
presents somewhat different features from what it does
here. It is more complicated, from the fact that very
large portions of the land are held on long leases, and
sublet perhaps many times ; each lessor consequently
securing some portion of the ground rent. The evil,
consequently, of the private appropriation of ground
rents is more pronounced and more apparent in Great
Britain than in this country. The land is also owned
by fewer individuals. The rating of the land, or as we
should say, its assessment, for taxation purposes, is
practically on the basis of the value it possessed two
hundred years ago ; whereas land in the United States
is assessed annually presumeably at its market value,
but really at a certain percentage of that value, and it
must be borne in mind that unimproved land, both in
city and country, is assessed at a much smaller per-
centage of its market value than improved land.

The amendment to the speech, it will be seen, re-
fers only to land in towns, differing in this respect
from previous measures relating to the land question,
which dealt almost exclusively with agricultural land.
This shows that the English people have realized the
fact that the most glaring defects of allowing private

Anonymous
Mar. 1, 1898

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appropriation of ground rents are developed in the great centres of population.

While the amendment dealt only with land in towns the debates proved that most of the speakers supporting it are out-and-out Single Taxers. They recognize that the public appropriation of the income from land values is all that is required to solve the questions of overcrowding in cities, of lack of profitable employment, and all of the evils that flow directly and indirectly from these causes.

To Single Taxers, not only in Great Britain but the world over, this debate in the British parliament is a most hopeful sign. It has shown, as perhaps nothing else has yet done, the great progress which our movement is making, not among mere academic dreamers of an unrealizable Utopia—as we have so often been dubbed—but among hard-headed men of affairs.

Of course it is too much to expect any immediate practical results from this debate. The present parliament is not only overwhelmingly conservative, but any measure in line with the amendment which might be passed by some future house of commons would be sure to be thrown out by the lords. But this is the way in which all reform movements in England, that have reached fruition, have begun. In the end the house of lords, in order to preserve its own existence, has had to yield to popular demand. Our present reform will be no exception.

Comparatively little notice has been taken of this debate by newspapers in this country, either because they have not realized its significance or because they do not desire to give it prominence. But such are the interrelations of the various groups of people in the civilized world today that its influence must soon be felt here.

We append extracts from some of the speeches in the house and from comments by newspapers in Great Britain. In another column will also be found parts of an editorial on the situation from *The Single Tax*, Glasgow.

E. J. C. MORTON :

“In London and other places there were instances of the way in which the land monopoly strangled the industry of a district. The remedy was to be found in a drastic reform of the land laws affecting towns. The enormous value of land in towns had not been produced by anything done by the landlords. Yet while the value of the land was absolutely free from any rate, the houses which were produced by the action of the persons who owned them were rated. They could not by the ingenuity of man devise a tax that would more heavily fall on the shoulders of the poor than by the system of rating houses, while they did not rate the land on which they were built. . . . In 1841, five years before the repeal of the corn laws, Mr. Cobden stated that, in his opinion, the evils resulting from the

ineffectual taxation of land were as great as any evils of taxation that existed. . . . On the 20th of October, 1885, a speech was made on the land question, in which the speaker said he would give an instructive illustration. It had been proposed to drive a street from Charing Cross through a densely-populated district. When the bill, which would have enabled the Metropolitan board of works to reduce the cost by the increased value of the frontage, came before the committee of the house of commons, one great landowner who had land on the line of route opposed it, claiming the insertion of a clause for his special protection; he required that the board of works should not take more land than was necessary for the making of the street, and that he should have the frontage; so that he would have the fullest price for the land, compensation for severance, and 10 per cent. for compulsory purchase, and then the enormous value which would be added to his property by its being on the frontage of the new street.”

MR. ASQUITH :

“A landlord by letting his land upon a leasehold building system might gain the whole benefit of improvement executed at the expense of the occupying community without contributing one farthing either in the shape of principal or interest towards the expenditure so incurred, and at the expiration of the lease the landowner in the shape of a reversionary bonus put every penny into his own pocket.”

MR. BILLSON

bore testimony to the fact that the questions raised by the amendment were attracting a great deal of attention throughout the country. More and more people were beginning, he said, to think that in the direction indicated by the amendment would ultimately be found the solution of many of the difficulties of the social problem by which they were confronted.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON :

“The question was urgent, not only on account of overcrowding of population, but on account of the pressure of taxation. This pressure was now so great that public improvements were starved for want of adequate funds.”

MR. BUCHANAN :

“The injustice was that the interest of the landlord was made superior to the interest of the community, and that lay at the root of the whole evil.”

MR. HAVELOCK WILSON

prophesied that as soon as working men fully realized the importance of this question of ground values in towns nobody would be returned to parliament unless convinced that they must be fully taxed.

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MR. MOULTON :

"Care must be taken that in future the contributions of land should come from those people who received the revenue of land, and that those contributions should be adequate to repay the services that the land was receiving from the lavish and continuous expenditure of the community. They had come now to see much more clearly the justification for the taxation of land in towns. The growth of political economy, and the extent to which it had filtered into the minds of the people, had made them realize what the true nature of the payment for land in towns towards municipal expenses was. It was just as much a payment for services rendered as if the owners themselves employed the municipality to do that which alone made their land valuable. When he heard people say that it was unfair for the owners of land in London to have to bear the heavy rates with which it was supposed they were threatened, he thought what would be the value of their land if the municipality for one short six months declined to do anything for them. . . . That portion of our aristocracy that had kept its prominence in wealth were almost entirely those who had land in towns. . . . They were taking money for services not rendered yesterday, but rendered today and to be rendered tomorrow; and if people bought land thinking for all time that the community would go on paying for that which gave their land value, they had no justification for it, no justification for thinking that the community would be idiotic forever."

MR. PROVAND :

"The existing leasehold system, so far from aiding the development of our cities, had prevented it. Their complaint was not against the landlords, but against the law, and they asked that the law should be changed."

Among the government opposers to the amendment were

MR. CHAPLIN,

who referred to the great iniquity of the unearned increment. He admitted that that was a very proper subject for discussion, but there was nothing in its omission from the programme of the government on this particular occasion to justify censure on the part of the house.

MR. BALFOUR :

"The example of America ought not to be thrown at their heads. . . . He had no doubt there were defects in both systems, and that neither could be made theoretically equitable. But the present government had done what honorable gentlemen opposite had never done—they had attempted to inquire exactly what those defects were and what might be the remedies. He ventured to prophecy that if Mr. Asquith set

himself seriously to master the evidence before that committee and its report, he would not talk so glibly of the simplicity of the task which he wanted her majesty's government in hot haste to take up."

MR. GOSCHEN :

"Honorable members had spoken over and over again of this question of taxation as an urgent and burning one. He wanted to know at what date it began to be urgent, and when it began to burn. Why had they not been dealt with before? It was because it was by no means so simple a matter as honorable members opposite supposed. As to the ownership and tenure of land, it was to remedy overcrowding that legislation was called for. But how was it that where there was no British system of land tenure the same thing prevailed? The real reason was that in these great centres of population more people wished to live in a particular spot than there was room for in that spot. . . . He thought they had better await the labors of the royal commission, whose recommendations, he hoped, would be valuable and practical." It was not a party question; friends of the ratepayers sat on both sides of the house.

COMMENTS BY THE PRESS.

The Manchester Guardian :

"Mr. Fletcher Moulton argued in an impressive speech that the municipalities have got 'tired of pouring out wealth' that the ground landlord may benefit thereby. Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chaplain scarcely made any pretence of dealing with the substantive merits of the question. Confronted by the difficulties arising out of private ownership, Mr. Balfour could only plead feebly that a number of owners were often no better than a single great landlord, as though it were a question of dividing up property, and not one of securing the rights of the community as against any owners, small or big."

The Speaker :

"The feeling with regard to the injustice of the present system was very strong, and and it did not appear to be confined to the liberal side of the house."

The London Daily Chronicle :

"Why not convoke a national meeting of representatives of municipalities and urban boards to call for the rating of ground values? The narrow escape of the government last night shows that this great social question is alive; and we hope the opposition will press that moral home."

The Times :

"How far the taxation of 'ground values' and the rating of unoccupied land would go to remove the evils which Mr. Asquith, like everybody else, deplures, is by

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no means clear. What is certain is that the saleable value of property, which the law has sanctioned, and permitted to be passed from hand to hand, would be seriously impaired by what can only be described as exceptional, not to say penal, legislation, directed against a small class."

The Daily Graphic :

"Last night's debate in the house of commons illustrated a characteristic weakness of the radical politician. He sees a great evil, and beside it he sees a small injustice, and he jumps to the conclusion that if the injustice is removed the evil will vanish. The evil in this case is the overcrowding of great towns; the injustice is the liability of leaseholders to meet a greater increase of local rates than they had reckoned on when they signed their leases."

The Bradford Observer :

"There is no subject on which the country is more keenly interested, and none on which the tories feel more shaky and uneasy. The heavy fall in the government majority on Friday was due to absentees. As a conservative member frankly confessed to me—'Some of us are in favor of the taxation of ground values, and more of us are afraid to vote against it.'"

The London Daily Chronicle :

"The people in other parts of Europe and America are overcrowded, says Mr. Balfour. Let us wait, then, until everything is in order in Hamburg or Warsaw before we touch the ground landlord at home. Mr. Balfour admits that overcrowding is a curse, but the phrase is meaningless on his lips. If multitudes of people are living under such a curse, why in the name of statesmanship is nothing to be done? Why this protest against hot haste? Why is the country forced to wait year after year upon the pleasure of royal commissions, each one more futile than the last? And how comes it that landlords and clerics are able to extort emergency reports, recommending doles for their comfort out of the public pocket, while the 'curse' is left to work itself out amongst the poor? English people who have not water enough to drink or sufficient houseroom in which to live with common decency, are referred to royal commissions."

The Glasgow Evening News :

"However greatly opinions may differ on the merits of the particular form of land legislation recommended by the anti-unearned-increment men, it can hardly be denied that this land values question is one of the problems that will have to be faced fairly in the near future."

The London Echo :

"The argument from justice has never even been touched by the champions of the landlords."

The West Yorkshire Pioneer and East Lancashire News :

"So far as argument went the minority had matters their own way. Sooner or later the question of the unearned increment will have to be faced."

The Liverpool Mercury :

"The liberal party has committed itself with overflowing enthusiasm tonight to the political principle of the taxation of land values in town."

The Bolton Evening News :

"Let liberal speakers take the hint thrown out by last night's experience, and press the question for all it is worth till the general election comes round."

The Leeds Mercury :

"The truth is, of course, that this demand with which the liberal party is now formally identified is not merely urged by the party itself, but is reinforced by a great body of opinion expressing itself through such impartial channels as the authorized organs of local government."

The Speaker :

"If anyone wants to see on which side the balance of argument lies, he has only to compare the speech of Mr. Moulton with Mr. Goschen's reply."

The People's Journal :

"Mr. Asquith and Mr. Munro Ferguson, to mention no others, in the course of the debate raised the question to the only platform on which it can be profitably discussed—that of equity and justice."

The Greenock Telegraph and Clyde Shipping Gazette :

"The division must have wrung the withers of the government. The majority of the most powerful government of modern times fell last night to thirty-four. This ought to be a cue as well as a comfort to liberals. Let them appeal to the country on the lord's veto and the oppressive land system."

The Aberdeen Free Press :

"The smallness of the government majority on Friday night is due to two causes—to the slackness of the 'whipping' on the ministerial side and to the reluctance of many unionists to vote against the taxation of ground values."

THE FLOWING TIDE.

SINGLE Taxers, and advocates of the Taxation of Land Values the world over will be gratified and encouraged by the debate and division on the question in the house of commons on Friday, 10th February, 1899.

Five years ago on the 8th March, 1894, the question was discussed in parliament on the motion of Mr. A. D. Provand, M.P., seconded by J. Fletcher Moulton,

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M.P. What a change there is in these five years. Then the commons, liberal and conservative, treated the matter in a listless, academic mood. There was little discussion and no division on the motion. It seemed even to us it had a forced kind of look, and it passed away hurriedly from the public mind like any ordinary day's talk in parliament.

Today all is changed. The front opposition benchmen—the recognized parliamentary leaders of the liberal party—have taken it up as a burning question, and one that must and will be faced till a beginning is made by a straight tax on the values of land. The cause of such bold speech by our members of parliament who stand for reform can be readily understood. The electors have wakened up on this question since Mr. Provand's pioneer effort in 1894, and the British parliament has ever a listening ear to a definite cry from the constituencies.

During the past five years the work of educating the people has gone steadily and splendidly forward by the various organizations throughout the country devoted to this purpose—the press, the platform, local public bodies—town, country, and parish councils, vestries, and boards of guardians, have all been used, and used effectively, by discussion, and the circulation of literature, to make the taxation of land values a burning question.

We who see the "potency and promise" of this reform live in glorious times compared with those who struggled with tyranny and went down struggling in the darker days of bygone times. They had nothing but the faith of the reformer to encourage them. We have freedom to work for our ideal, and we see the very possibility of its realization. In the past we have turned neither to the right nor to the left but kept on in the narrow way. We have been told we were parochial, narrow-minded, one-eyed reformers who would not turn to look at the other great questions. But we only took these criticisms as compliments, and pursued the even tenor of our way.

We mean to continue. We know what we want and how we are going to secure it. Already it is being realized by our friends, the enemy, that the land question—the question of land monopoly—lies at the root of these other great questions which we are supposed in our innocence to have passed by, and that the reform for which we stand can alone solve this hydra-headed social problem. As the great liberal newspapers are saying, now is the time for a rally by all radicals on this question of taxing land values. As John Morley would say, "Let us not be afraid of the boldest thought."

We must drive it home to these people that they are wasting their precious lives in striving for any better social order so long as the monopoly of land remains, and the ever-increasing values of land, which, like a sponge, soaks in the economic benefits of every

improvement, are appropriated by the landlord class.

The time is rapidly ripening for a direct appeal to the people on this reform. The leaders of the liberal party have realized this, though God knows they have done little during these past years to assist or encourage it along.

Now that they have taken such splendid action, we must strengthen their hands. It is a people's question. With a few signal and brilliant exceptions, our members of parliament, leaders included, have not till now participated in the fight. This has been their loss. But let us keep it still a people's question. Let us keep it on straight lines.

This is what we are striving for. This is what we must strive for and secure if we would emancipate ourselves from the debasing and degrading chains of aristocratic privilege, and realize in the dawn of the coming brighter day the fruits of our labor free from—to quote the parliamentary language of Mr. Fletcher Moulton—"the plunder of landlordism."

—*The Single Tax, Glasgow.*

THE SUBTLE PROBLEMS OF CHARITY.

UNDER the above heading Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House Settlement, Chicago, contributed to the February *Atlantic* an exceedingly interesting article, which, but for its length, we should have been glad to have reproduced in full. To one, however, who is interested in the more delicate and vital—or, as Miss Addams would perhaps call them, more subtle—human relations, the whole article will well repay a careful perusal.

The general tone of the article, as *The Tribune* of this city in its editorial comment upon it, says, is decidedly one of depression. "The reader puts it down almost ready to say that the regeneration of the other half is hopeless. The settlement workers and organized charities seem just to be tugging in a helpless sort of a way at a mass they never move."

But pessimistic in tone as the article undoubtedly is, its opening paragraphs prove that Miss Addams has a perception of the one great stumbling block in the way of the work of all such organizations as that with which she is connected. Whether or not Miss Addams has made an original discovery, so far at least as she is concerned, matters not. Her words are:

Probably there is no relation in life which our democracy is changing more rapidly than the charitable relation—that relation which obtains between benefactor and beneficiary; at the same time, there is no point of contact in our modern experience which reveals more clearly the lack of that equality which democracy implies. We have reached the moment when democracy has made such inroads upon this relationship that the complacency of the old-fashioned charitable man is gone forever; while the very need and existence of charity deny us the consolation and freedom which democracy will at last give.

Many of the difficulties in philanthropy come from an unconscious division of the world into the philanthropists and those to be helped. It is an assumption of two classes, and against this class assumption our democratic training revolts as soon as we begin to act upon it.

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Formerly when it was believed that poverty was synonymous with vice and laziness, and that the prosperous man was the righteous man, charity was administered harshly with a good conscience; for the charitable agent really blamed the individual for his poverty, and the very fact of his own superior prosperity gave him a certain consciousness of superior morality. . . . Our democratic instinct constantly takes alarm at this consciousness of two standards. . . .

The young charity visitor who goes from a family living upon a most precarious industrial level to her own home in a prosperous part of the city, if she is sensitive at all, is never free from perplexities which our growing democracy forces upon her.

Speaking of some of the practical difficulties which the charity visitor—"a young college woman, well-bred and open minded"—finds as she goes about her work; and especially of the necessity she is under to treat the family she is "visiting" almost exclusively as factors in the industrial system, Miss Addams continues:

She insists that they must work and be self-supporting; that the most dangerous of all situations is idleness; that seeking one's own pleasure, while ignoring claims and responsibilities, is the most ignoble of actions. The members of her assigned family may have charms and virtues—they may possibly be kind and affectionate and considerate of one another, generous to their friends; but it is her business to stick to the industrial side. As she daily holds up these standards, it often occurs to the mind of the sensitive visitor, whose conscience has been made tender by much talk of brotherhood and equality which she has heard at college, that she has no right to say these things; that she herself has never been self-supporting; that, whatever her virtues may be, they are not the industrial virtues; that her untrained hands are no more fitted to cope with actual conditions than are those of her broken-down family.

The grandmother of the charity visitor could have done the industrial preaching very well, because she did have the industrial virtues; if not skilful in weaving and spinning, she was yet mistress of other housewifely accomplishments. In a generation our experiences have changed—our views with them; while we still keep on in the old methods, which could be applied when our consciences were in line with them, but which are daily becoming more difficult as we divide up into people who work with their hands and those who do not; and the charity visitor, belonging to the latter class, is perplexed by recognitions and suggestions which the situation forces upon her. Our democracy has taught us to apply our moral teaching all around, and the moralist is rapidly becoming so sensitive that when his life does not exemplify his ethical convictions he finds it difficult to preach.

The "visitor" will most likely urge upon the head of the family

a spirit of independence, and is perhaps foolish enough to say that "every American man can find work and is bound to support his family." She soon discovers that the workingman, in the city at least, is utterly dependent for the tenure of his position upon the good will of his foreman, upon the business prosperity of the firm, or the good health of the head of it; and that, once work is lost, it may take months to secure another place. There is no use in talking independence to a man when he is going to stand in a row, hat in hand, before an office desk, in the hope of getting a position. The visitor is shocked when she finds herself recommending to the head of her visited family, whom she had sent to a business friend of hers to find work, not to be too outspoken when he goes to the place, and not to tell that he has had no experience in that line unless he is asked. She has in fact come around to the view which has long been his.

Miss Addams considers the neighborly relations between the poor in cities "primitive and frontier-like."

There is the greatest willingness to lend or borrow anything, and each resident of a given tenement house knows the most intimate family affairs of all the others. The fact that the economic condition of all alike is on a most precarious level makes the ready outflow of sympathy and material assistance

the most natural thing in the world. There are numberless instances of heroic self-sacrifice quite unknown in the circles where greater economic advantages make that kind of intimate knowledge of one's neighbors impossible. An Irish family, in which the man has lost his place, and the woman is struggling to eke out the scanty savings by day work, will take in a widow and her five children who have been turned into the street, without a moment's reflection upon the physical discomforts involved. . . .

Another woman, whose husband was sent up to the city prison for the maximum term, just three months before the birth of her child, having gradually sold her supply of household furniture, found herself penniless. She sought refuge with a friend whom she supposed to be living in three rooms in another part of the town. When she arrived, however, she discovered that her friend's husband had been out of work so long that they had been reduced to living in one room. The friend at once took her in, and the friend's husband was obliged to sleep upon a bench in the park every night for a week; which he did uncomplainingly, if not cheerfully. Fortunately it was summer, "and it only rained one night." The writer could not discover from the young mother that she had any special claim upon the "friend" beyond the fact that they had formerly worked together in the same factory. The husband she had never seen until the night of her arrival, when he at once went forth in search of a midwife who would consent to come upon his promise of future payment.

"Can that be duplicated," *The Tribune* asks, "among those who 'contribute' to uplift the masses?" "Is it any wonder," it adds, "that organizations which measure everything and investigate claims should not seem friends to those who thus help one another at any cost?" "Primitive and frontier-like" the neighborly relations of the poor may be, but at least they are genuinely human.

Of one of the effects of organized charity the head of Hull House has this to say:

When the agent or visitor appears among the poor, and they discover that under certain conditions food and rent and medical aid are dispensed from some unknown source, every man, woman, and child is quick to learn what the conditions may be, and to follow them. Though in their eyes a glass of beer is quite right and proper when taken as any self-respecting man should take it; though they know that cleanliness is an expensive virtue which can be expected of few; though they realize that saving is well-nigh impossible when but a few cents can be laid by at a time; though their feeling for the church may be something quite elusive of definition and quite apart from daily living—to the visitor they gravely laud temperance and cleanliness and thrift and religious observance. The deception doubtless arises from a wondering inability to understand the ethical ideals which can require such impossible virtues, combined with a tradition that charity visitors do require them, and from an innocent desire to please. It is easy to trace the development of the mental suggestions thus received.

With true insight and tender hands Miss Addams touches the subject of over-dressing, funerals and early marriages. What she has to say on these subjects should prove profitable reading to many who delight to dwell with condemnation upon the false standards of the poor in these matters.

One of the saddest revelations which Miss Addams makes is that in which she describes the utter perversion of the natural relation of parent and child forced upon the poor by the conditions of their lives. The workman

regards his children as his savings-bank; he expects them to care for him when he gets old, and in some trades old age comes very early. . . .

The economic pressure also accounts for the tendency to

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put children to work over-young, and thus cripple their chances for individual development and usefulness, and with the avaricious parent it often leads to exploitation. "I have fed her for fourteen years; now she can help me pay my mortgage," is not an unusual reply, when a hard-working father is expostulated with because he would take his bright daughter out of school and put her into a factory. It has long been a common error for the charity visitor, who is strongly urging her family toward self-support, to suggest, or at least connive, that the children be put to work early, although she has not the excuse that the parents have. It is so easy, after one has been taking the industrial view for a long time, to forget the larger and more social claim; to urge that the boy go to work and support his parents, who are receiving charitable aid. The visitor does not realize what a cruel advantage the person who distributes charity has, when she gives advice. The manager in a huge mercantile establishment employing many children was able to show, during a child-labor investigation, that the only children under fourteen years of age in his employ were protégés urged upon him by philanthropic ladies, who were not only acquaintances of his, but valued patrons of the establishment. It is not that the charity visitor of an earlier day was less wise than other people, but she fixed her mind so long upon the industrial lameness of her family that she was eager to seize any crutch, however weak, which might enable them to get on. She failed to see that the boy who attempts prematurely to support his widowed mother may lower wages, add an illiterate member to the community, and arrest the development of a capable workingman. Just as she has failed to see that the rules which obtain in regard to the age of marriage in her own family may not apply to the workingman, so also she fails to understand that the present conditions of employment surrounding a factory child are totally unlike those which obtained during the energetic youth of her father. Is it too much to hope that the insight which the contemporary visitor is gaining may save the administration of charity from certain reproaches which it has well deserved? . . .

The head of a kindergarten training class once addressed a club of workingwomen, and spoke of the despotism which is often established over little children. She said that the so-called determination to break a child's will many times arose from a lust of dominion, and she urged the ideal relationship founded upon love and confidence. But many of the women were puzzled. One of them remarked to the writer, as she came out of the club-room, "If you did not keep control over them from the time they were little, you would never get their wages when they were grown up." Another one said, "Ah, of course, she [meaning the speaker] doesn't have to depend upon her children's wages. She can afford to be lax with them, because, even if they don't give money to her, she can get along without it."

There are an impressive number of children who uncomplainingly hand over their weekly wages to their parents, sometimes receiving back ten cents or a quarter for spending-money, but quite as often nothing at all; and the writer knows one daughter of twenty-five who for six years has received two cents a week from the constantly falling wages which she earns in a large factory. Is it habit or virtue which holds her steady in this course? If love and tenderness had been substituted for parental despotism, would the mother have had enough affection, enough power of expression, to hold her daughter's sense of money obligation through all these years?

On the question of providing recreations for the young the following are pregnant words:

As the growth of juvenile crime becomes gradually understood, and as the danger of giving no legitimate and organized pleasure to the child becomes clearer, we remember that primitive man had games long before he cared for a house or for regular meals.

The concluding paragraph we reproduce in full:

The Hebrew prophet made three requirements from those who would join the great forward-moving procession led by Jehovah. "To love mercy," and at the same time "to do justly," is the difficult task. To fulfil the first requirement alone is to fall into the error of indiscriminate giving, with all its disastrous results; to fulfil the second exclusively is to obtain the stern policy of withholding, and it results in such a dreary lack of sympathy and understanding that the establishment of justice is impossible. It may be that the combination

of the two can never be attained save as we fulfil still the third requirement, "to walk humbly with God," which may mean to walk for many dreary miles beside the lowliest of his creatures, not even in peace of mind, that the companionship of the humble is popularly supposed to give, but rather with the pangs and misgivings to which the poor human understanding is subjected whenever it attempts to comprehend the meaning of life.

Will Miss Addams forgive us if we say that she has failed to see the essential connection of the first two requirements she here cites. They are in no sense antagonistic to each other, therefore no "combination" of them—in the sense of one being required to lessen the full force and scope of the other—as she seems to think, is required. To love mercy is an emotion of the heart, to do justly is the most perfect expression of that emotion. To love mercy, when applied to the relations which one mortal holds to another, can never, therefore, be the condescension of a superior to an inferior, simply because such a relation is an unjust one.

It is because, as a community, we have failed in doing justly in one important sphere of our communal life that Miss Addams, and thousands with tender hearts like hers, find it impossible to love mercy in any practical and satisfactory sense. The difficulties they find invariably confronting them in their efforts in in this direction should be to them but warnings that they are on the wrong path. These difficulties should lead them to search for some social injustice, yet unseen by them, which, by injecting its poison into the body politic, converts what would otherwise be the healthful and pleasurable exercise of human sympathies into a painful and hurtful act; just as the exercise that to a healthy human body is a delight, to a diseased or deformed one is anguish and misery.

No greater mistake can be made than that which so many people make, of supposing that it is the evils which society sees, acknowledges, condemns, and thus so far rids itself of, that are the causes of our social maladjustment, when the truth is, it is those evils, which it does not see to be such, but which on the contrary it calls good, that do this. What we suffer because of the immorality of the thief, the drunkard, the profligate in our midst, and which we condemn, is as nothing compared with what we endure because of a morality which outrages all true perceptions of our relations to each other as earthly children of one heavenly Father, but of which we approve.

THE plan of Henry George puts the question in such a shape that even tomorrow committees could be appointed for the examination and trial of the plan, and its crystallization into law.

—Tolstoi.

MEN of Rome, ye are called the masters of the world, yet ye have not a square foot ye can call your own. The wild beasts have their dens, but the brave sons of Italy have only water and air.

—Tiberius Gracehus.

A young woman, who has suffered for years from what the doctors have called "nervous dyspepsia," wishes me to state to my readers that she has been completely cured by dropping medicine and living almost entirely upon Bovinine.

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The New Earth

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Devoted to the study and illustration of Social Problems on Moral and Religious Grounds

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WE WOULD TAKE THROUGH TAXATION THE RENTAL VALUE OF LAND, COM-
PLETELY EXEMPTING IMPROVEMENTS, AND WOULD USE THIS REVENUE
FOR PUBLIC PURPOSES IN LIEU OF THE TAXES THAT NOW OPPRESS LA-
BOR AND CAPITAL AND RESTRICT THEIR PRODUCTIVE EMPLOYMENT.

JOHN S. Crosby had a very successful trip in Can-
ada last month. He visited the places mentioned
in our last issue, speaking to good audiences in
public halls and churches. He will speak in the town
hall, Irvington, a suburb of Newark, N. J., on Friday
evening, May 5th.

JUDGING from a letter from H. A. Pain, in *The
Single Tax*, Glasgow, of last month, it would appear
that a proposition will be made at the annual meeting
of the Land Restoration League in Great Britain to
change the name of that organization, and it is sug-
gested that it and all similar bodies adopt the name
Single Tax League; and also that steps be taken to
hold annual world congresses of delegates from Single
Tax organizations, such meetings to be held in the
capitals or central cities of each country in turn.

A CALL for a National Social and Political Confer-
ence, to be held in Buffalo from June 20 to July 4, has
been issued. The call is signed by seventy-one per-
sons, among whom are Dr. Lyman Abbott and William
Dean Howells, of New York; the Rev. W. D. P. Bliss,
colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson and mayor

Josiah Quincy, of Boston; senator Marion Butler, of
North Carolina; ex-senator W. V. Allen, of Nebraska;
senator Richard F. Pettigrew, of South Dakota; gov-
ernor Pingree, of Michigan; mayor S. M. Jones, of To-
ledo, John MacVickar, mayor of Des Moines, Iowa;
congressman Thomas McEwan, of New Jersey; ex-
congressman James G. Maguire, of California; Jerry
Simpson, of Kansas; professor Richard T. Ely, Uni-
versity of Wisconsin; professor Edward W. Bemis,
Kansas State College; professor Charles Zeublin, Chi-
cago University; George Fred Williams, Dedham,
Mass.; Samuel Gompers, president of the American
Federation of Labor, and Eugene V. Debs, Terre
Haute, Ind.

The object of the conference is to discuss conditions
from the varying points of view of the many schools
of reform. Imperialism, monopolies, direct legisla-
tion, Single Tax, and co-operation will be discussed,
and, if possible, unity of action, in the immediate fu-
ture at least, reached; the key-note being "What to
do next."

Seeing that governor Pingree, of Michigan, and
mayor Jones, of Toledo, are signers of the call for this
conference, and that both have been re-elected to office
on platforms advocating municipal ownership of street
railway and similar public utilities, it seems probable
that one of the things which the conference will agree
"to do next" will be to push this reform. Such action,
if they take it, will certainly be along the line of least
resistance at the present time. The mind of the gen-
eral public is quite open in this direction, so much so
that *The Evening Post* of this city feels compelled to
say "that Jones and Pingree are types of a class of
politicians with which we have got to reckon during
the next few years."

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NEW EARTH:

A highly esteemed friend of mine, who, though somewhat
inclined to admit the possible superiority of the Single Tax as
a means of raising revenue, has in some way conceived a
strong hostility to what he calls the "pretentious methods" of
Single Taxers. Here are a few of his objections.

"The more aggressive Single Taxers do not hesitate to push
their remedy as a panacea for all the ills of mankind—from a
sin-sick soul to an inflamed bunion. They subordinate religion
to their 'hobby,' and place far greater faith in the shifting of a
tax than in the the omnipotence of God."

I feel this criticism is not just, but how am I to answer it?
Will *The New Earth* help me? and oblige, A FRIEND.

It is doubtful whether any answer we may make

Anonymous
Mar. 11, 1948

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will satisfy your friend in his present attitude of mind. But perhaps our position may be made somewhat clearer by an illustration. Suppose a case something like this:

A man is sick. The symptoms indicate an excessive quantity of blood tending to the brain and viscera, and a corresponding lack of vital fluid in the extremities. The disease is of long standing and is growing rapidly worse, day by day. Numberless prescriptions, drugs and treatments have been recommended. But thus far every remedy applied has aggravated the disease. The extremities grow more helpless, the brain cells more surcharged.

At this juncture a certain physician, while carefully examining the external surface of the patient's body, makes the remarkable discovery of the existence of artificial ligatures tightly binding both thighs and upper arms.

Investigation shows that these bandages were placed upon the patient a long time ago, while he was still young, through the ignorance, or perhaps the mistaken theories of certain doctors in their anxiety to insure a rich supply of blood to the brain cells and vital tissues. For such a length of time have these ligatures been in place that the flesh has grown over them and almost concealed their real character, causing some reputable physicians to mistake them for some kind of growth, possibly abnormal, that cannot be removed without danger to the patient.

But the discoverer of the ligatures, after thoroughly investigating their nature and history, and finding them to be unquestionably artificial and obstructive to the forces of nature, proposes to abandon the use of drugs or nostrums, as well as the "faith" cure, or "prayer" cure, and without hesitation boldly cut away and remove the artificial bandages, and for the patient's recovery trust implicitly in the operation of nature's law of health when once freed from man's interference.

To make his advice more feasible he brings forward and offers for use a certain instrument that will effectually sever the ligatures and destroy their restrictive effect.

Now to answer your friend's objection. If such an instrument, designed to sever these artificial ligatures and set the recuperative forces of nature free, can be justly designated a panacea, then indeed do we claim the Single Tax to be a panacea. For the parallel is complete.

The sick man is the body politic--society as a whole. The disease is the wasting away of the social extremities from a denial to those parts of natural opportunities to freely perform their use to the whole body, and in return freely participate in the general good. The artificial ligatures causing this disease are man-made statutes which legalize and uphold the private ownership of land. And the instrument by which we pro-

pose to cut asunder, with the least possible pain and discomfort, these paralyzing ligatures, restore land to the category of common property, and rescue society from the twin dangers of apoplexy of brain and atrophy of parts, is the Single Tax.

Whether this be a "hobby" or a living principle carrying us forward, of one thing we feel sure, namely, this: that the paralyzing effects of restricted access to natural opportunities resulting from the private ownership of land must be first of all removed, either by the Single Tax or by some yet keener remedy, before there can be any rational hope of restored health to the social body.

Do we subordinate religion to "our hobby" by insisting upon the removal of artificial obstructions in order that religious influence may no longer be confined to those who form the heart and brain cells of society, but that it may freely extend to those who constitute the very finger nails of the body politic?

And which physician, in the case of our illustration, would evince the more active faith in God—he who would resort to perpetual prayer that somehow, in some mysterious manner, God might by His omnipotence restore the patient's circulation in spite of the interfering bandages? or he who, in obedience to God's laws should actively remove all obstructive ligatures? Which shall take precedence—lip service or hand service?

L. E. WILMARTH.

FAMINE IN RUSSIA.

WE have received from the Russian Reformation Society of England a pamphlet entitled "Count Tolstoi on Flogged and Floggers," in which the author tells so much of what he knows of famine in Russia and the condition of the Russian peasantry as he believes the official censor of the empire would permit to be published.

It appears that Tolstoi was induced to make a personal examination as to the existence of famine in his country by the publication of letters describing the destitute condition of the peasantry; and also by the receipt of considerable sums of money for their relief, of which he considered it his duty to personally supervise the distribution.

Tolstoi was doubtless aware that there was famine in the land before he set out on his journey of investigation and relief, but ample proof of this fact, though in a condensed form, is to be found in his report.

After having completed his report, he says he determined to take a journey to Effremoff, where he had been credibly informed the condition of some of the villages was most miserable. What he saw on his way

surpassed his gloomiest anticipations. The rye this year is extremely bad, much worse than in previous years. In one part almost 100,000 acres have been entirely lost. You ride a verst, two, ten, twenty, and on both sides of the road you notice on the landowner's land, instead of rye nothing but pigweed; on the peasants' lands not even pigweed. So that next year the

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conditions of the peasants of this part (the rye has been lost I am told in many other places also) will be incomparably worse than this year.

I am speaking of the condition of the peasants only, not of land owners generally, because it is only for the peasants who live directly and immediately upon their own bread—rye bread—that the harvest of rye has a life and death importance.

As soon as the peasant has insufficient bread of his own for the whole household, and bread is dear, as it is this year (about one rouble per *pud*), then his condition threatens to become desperate.

Tolstoi, doubtless from experience, was satisfied that the best use he could put the funds he had received for the relief of his distressed countrymen, was to establish public dining rooms, in the villages, where all, regardless of sex or age, who had no food of their own, could satisfy their hunger without cost to themselves.

Tolstoi tells how his efforts in this direction were frustrated. Government officials, he says, either deliberately prohibited the opening of dining rooms, or placed such obstacles in his way as virtually amounted to a prohibition. The grounds for such action on the part of government officials, Tolstoi says, is the fear of the governing classes that the intercommunication of the peasants which would inevitably result from their congregation at public dining rooms, would be detrimental to their class interests.

But Tolstoi realizes that the efforts of the government to prevent the intercommunication of the people must prove futile, that it only "interrupts the regular course of their communication," and that "where such communication might have been beneficial" efforts to thwart it "only give it a harmful direction."

Tolstoi refers to statistical researches which he says conclusively prove that

Altogether the Russian people consume thirty per cent. less than the normal amount of food necessary for the maintenance of health;

and further that there are facts to show

that the young men of the Black Earth region have, during the last twenty years been constantly failing to satisfy the conditions of a good constitution required for military service. . . .

The rate of increase of the agricultural population having been twenty years ago at its height, . . . has been since then steadily decreasing until it has now come to naught.

But Tolstoi does not rely altogether on statistics.

We have only to compare the average agricultural peasant as he is—thin and spare, with unhealthy complexion, with one of the same peasants who happens to have become a house-porter or a coachman, and consequently lives well—to compare also the movements of this house-porter or coachman and the amount of work he is able to accomplish, with the movements and the work of the peasant living at home, in order to realize the extent to which the peasant has been but weakened by insufficiency of nourishment.

He then draws this graphic picture:

When (as was formerly the practice, and is still with unthrifty farmers) cattle are kept only for the sake of their manure, and are fed anyhow, in the cold yard, simply that they may not perish, the result is that only those in possession of their full vigor escape injury, while the old animals, the weak and the very young perish, or if they survive, it is to the detriment of their health and breed, and in the case of the young ones of their size and constitution,

and significantly adds:

This is just the position in which the Russian peasantry of the Black Earth zone find themselves.

He therefore concludes:

If by the word "famine" is meant such insufficiency of food as would immediately cause death (as according to the reports was recently the case in India), such a famine there neither was in 1891 nor is in this year.

If, however, by "famine" is understood an insufficiency of nourishment—not such as to cause immediate death, but such as allows men to linger for a time, dying prematurely, becoming decrepit, ceasing to multiply and degenerating—then such famine has existed now for twenty years among the majority of the people of the Black Earth region, and this year is especially acute.

As to the cause of "famine" such as he describes, Tolstoi is of the opinion that it is of a spiritual and not of a material nature, and says in regard to it:

As soon as there is lacking among the people a spirit of energy, confidence, and hope of ever greater and greater improvement in their condition, and they have, on the contrary, a consciousness of the futility of their efforts, and are cast down, the people instead of resisting nature are overcome by it. And this, at the present time, is just the condition of our entire rural population, and especially of those of the agricultural centre. . . .

The lower the economic condition of a population sinks—like a weight on a lever—the more difficult it becomes for it to be raised again; and the peasants feel this, and as it were, throw away the helve after the hatchet. "Why should we trouble," they say; "we sha'n't get fat. If we can but keep alive."

Of the inert and unprogressive nature of the Russian peasantry Tolstoi draws this dismal picture:

While improved methods and implements of cultivation have been adopted in other countries the Russian peasant has stood still and tills the soil much in the same way his forefathers did in the time of Rurik.

This disinclination of the Russian peasant to change his habits is a sure sign, Tolstoi affirms, of "depression of spirit." But why this depression of spirit? Tolstoi asserts it is because those who govern the Russian peasants

fail to recognize their human dignity.

To regard the peasant not as a man like others, but as a rough, stupid creature who must be under guardianship and be guided in every thing; consequently, under the pretence of being taken care of, his liberty is completely restricted and his personality humiliated.

Not only, Tolstoi points out, is the Russian peasant enslaved by the state, but by the church also.

Obliged unconditionally to fulfil all demands made upon him by his religious superiors, who were ordained and set over him quite independently of his choice or desire.

Special laws for the peasants, which Tolstoi says, "Amount to the absence of all law" is, he asserts, "a potent factor in depressing the spirits of the peasantry, and therefore of impoverishing them."

It is necessary—I do not say at once to respect—but to cease despising and insulting the people by treating them like animals; it is necessary to give them religious liberty, to subject them to common, instead of special, laws—the will of rural officials; it is necessary to give them liberty of education, liberty of reading, liberty of moving about, and above all to remove that infamous stigma which rests upon past and present governments, viz.: the power brutally to torture grown up people by flogging, simply because they happen to belong to the peasant class.

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SOME facts relating to famine in Russia, which Tolstoi either did not know of, or omitted to mention in his report for prudential reasons, have gained publicity through other channels.

"*Ex-attache*," writing on "Famine and Fraternity," in a *New York Tribune Illustrated Supplement*, describes some horrible incidents which warrant him in saying:

Russia is face to face with the most terrible and extensive famine that has devastated the Muscovite empire either in modern or ancient times. The Russian government will have to disburse at least \$200,000,000 in relieving the necessities of the peasantry of the affected districts during the winter, providing them with the means of cultivating their fields when spring opens.

As officially reported nineteen provinces, with a population of forty millions, are directly affected by the famine. The suffering and hardship in the affected districts is not confined, as might be supposed, "*Ex-attache*" says, to the actual tillers of the soil, "The landed gentry" and "territorial nobility" also suffer. Many of these classes, he states, have been obliged to obtain aid either from government or private sources.

In the districts least affected by famine "*Ex-attache*" says:

Eighty per cent. of the rural population have lost their horses and cattle, and are rendered unable to plough their land.

This writer also tells us that the peasantry have been reduced to such dire extremities that they have ravenously devoured the putrid carcasses of animals that have died of disease and starvation; and he further says, that according to official report the sole sustenance of thirty millions of men, women, and children is what is called "famine bread," which he describes as a compound of "the goose-foot plant, which is catalogued in the Russian pharmacopœa as an emetic, and animal dung. It is for the sake of obtaining one of these loaves that every form of murder and robbery is being committed. A sample of this bread is exhibited at the great cathedral of Kazan with the object of stimulating private charity.

"*Ex-attache*" states, and with reason, that the present "famine" is due to the Russian government itself, and not to the niggardliness of nature.

The government, in order to provide money for its standing army, had confiscated and sold for non-payment of taxes the agricultural implements as well as the horses, the cattle, the sheep, the pigs, and the poultry. In one village, according to the *St. Petersburg Novoe Vremya*, the tax gatherers seized every chicken in the place, about six hundred in all.

Mainly for this reason, he asserts, the fields were neither tilled nor sowed by the peasantry last year, and a complete failure of the crops in European Russia has been the result.

It seems incredible that such a revolting condition as "*Ex-attache*" describes can exist, even in benighted Russia.

Assuming the conditions of the inhabitants of the "famine-stricken" districts of Russia to be as de-

scribed by "*Ex-attache*," it is not surprising that the government should deem it necessary to expend so large an amount of money as \$200,000,000 for the relief, and that the necessity for the expenditures of so large a sum, shall have greatly influenced the czar in his desire for a reduction of the military forces of the empire—yet, as "*Ex-attache*" says:

It would be unjust, however, to forbear to ascribe to humanitarian motives the peace conference upon which the czar has set his heart. Possessed of a keen sense of the responsibilities of his lofty office he is overwhelmed with horror by the description of the misery that even now prevails in the nineteen famine-stricken provinces. He naturally shrinks from spending millions upon the construction of engines destined to destroy human life, when by devoting that same money to the relief of his stricken subjects he can save hundreds of thousands from the horrors of death by starvation.

And he assumes, differing with Tolstoi in this regard, that

It is because the young czar has by careful investigation made himself acquainted with all these facts that he is anxious to reform the service of his government and to relieve the sufferings of his famine-stricken country before wasting any more millions on the military incubus of nineteenth century prosperity and progress.

JOHN FILMER.

WE must drive it home to these people that they are wasting their precious lives in striving for any better social order so long as the monopoly of land remains, and the ever-increasing values of land, which, like a sponge, soaks in the economic benefits of every improvement, are appropriated by the landlord class.

—*Single Tax, Glasgow.*

NEW ZEALAND has already shown the way to a reform (the taxation of land values) upon which all sections of progressive thought in the old country are beginning to unite. If, as is devoutly to be hoped, the Australian Labor Party throws in its lot with the land and tax reform men, a great impetus will be given to a movement which, in the last twenty or thirty years, has become almost world-wide.

—*London Echo.*

IT is an intolerable injustice that an enhanced value should be given to land by the improvement and development of a locality, while the owner of the property who reaps the benefit contributes nothing to the cost. That is a plain statement of the case. It is not a question of political opinion, it is a question of mere justice, and we need not be surprised, therefore, that when Mr. Morton brought it forward the towering majority of the government in the house of commons fell to the modest figure of 33. Now, gentlemen, these instances will have sufficed to show you how we are doing our duty to the best of our power in the house of commons. The proceedings of the last few days show that you in your sphere are alive to your duty. Let us confidently labor each in our own way in the good cause, knowing it is not for individuals, it is not even for a party, that we are striving. Not for a party as such—it is for the predominance in the

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public polity of our country of justice and freedom, and of the spirit of righteousness, upon which alone the prosperity and welfare of a people can be surely based.

—*Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, at a meeting of the National Liberal Federation, March 8, 1899.*

HELPING LANDLORDS IN CUBA.

THE Springfield, Mass., *Republican* makes a strong point against landlordism when it shows how the improved conditions, politically and socially, being brought about in the island of Cuba under American occupation will eventually redound to the pecuniary benefit of the men and syndicates whose private ownership of valuable land in that country will give them the inside track on the road to enormous wealth.

Whatever the United States has done and may do for the improvement of Cuban cities and the country generally will surely be reflected in the increased values of natural resources. That is in accordance with the natural law of the growth of society, as immutable and unerring as the law of gravitation. It matters not whether land is in the United States, on another continent or on an island of the sea, there is no escaping the operation of this natural law. Ground rent always and every where keeps pace with improvements and increase of population, and where rents are highest there wealth producers—that is to say, the working classes—find the struggle for existence keenest. The reason of this is that all the ground rent, though earned by the community, goes into the coffers of the earth owners, and not into the public treasury, as it should.

On the other hand, this misappropriation of community-earnings is accompanied by a system of taxation on improvements and personal property—which practically imposes fines and penalties on every man for doing something useful.

RALPH HOYT.

AN OBJECT LESSON.

WALKING up Summer street from the new Southern Union station in Boston a few weeks ago, my attention was attracted by the appearance of a large number of buildings either wholly or partially vacant, on that usually busy thoroughfare, all the way up to its terminus at Washington street, a distance of five or six blocks.

Inquiry of a business acquaintance on that street as to its cause revealed the following explanation:

The Southern Union station recently erected at a cost of \$15,000,000 at the foot of Summer street is now the terminus of several lines of railroads, each of which formerly had its own station. Since the erection of this one, however, the tide of travel has enormously increased on Summer street.

Anticipating an increased demand for the privilege of doing business in this favored locality, rents were inordinately advanced and in some cases doubled.

As an instance, an old established wholesale dry goods firm, that had paid, prior to the building of the station, an annual rental of \$15,000, was served with the notice, that, beginning with January 1, the rent would be increased to \$24,000.

Unable or unwilling to accede to this unreasonable demand, the firm was dissolved, the business closed out, and all the employes thrown out of work. This wholesale advance in rents caused tenants to vacate all along the line. But these stores will remain vacant only for a time—only, in fact, until necessity obliges employer and employe to work for less pay in order that they may be able to pay the increased rent, or until the value of the location shall have increased up to the landlord's figures.

This object lesson serves to confirm the Single Taxer's belief:

That public improvements enhance the value of land in the vicinity.

That landlords reap the benefit of such improvement in increased ground rents.

That landlords, as such, contribute nothing toward increasing land values.

That under present conditions inflated land values are a potent factor in bringing about industrial depressions.

S.

A FISHER OF MEN.

"WHAT wilt thou become?" asked the philosopher of his pupil.

"A fisher of men," answered the youth, with sparkling eyes; "to gather those round me who are one with me."

With a sad smile answered the teacher: "Then go into the world and bring to me those who are one with thee."

The youth departed from his master.

Many years waited the master for the return of his disciple. Then one day entered into his tent a weary man.

The master recognized in the hardened lines of his guest the once so cheery face of his pupil.

"Where are they whom thou wast going to bring to me, who are one with thee?" asked he.

"I come alone," answered, with depressed tones, the pupil. "I have found love and friendship on my way, but I have always deceived myself. No matter how closely I bound myself to some one, always came something between us that parted us. I will not be any longer a fisher of men; let me stay and live in thy retreat."

The philosopher looked at him smiling.

Said he, "Thou art to me a welcome guest, and mayest remain in my hut as long as thou desirest. But the day will come when something will again drive thee out to fish for men. Thou art convinced today

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that this catch is profitless, and thou hatest it. But quiet thou canst not have any more. Again thou wilt wander into the world—to go fishing; and that thou fittest for men, in spite of failures, that will be the only satisfaction life can offer thee.”

—*A free translation from "Der Arme Teufel," with acknowledgement to the Coast Seamen's Journal.*

WOMEN'S POLITICAL WORK.

AT the first Colorado election in which women could vote the number of women serving as county superintendents of schools was increased to twenty-six. Before the election of women to this office the conventions of county superintendent were disorderly and undignified. The presence of women has put an end to profanity, buffoonery, and questionable stories. The new element insists on business principles. They are determined that school funds shall be disbursed for the needs of the people, and not with an eye to the commission. They never combine private and public work, charging the state accordingly. The books of school directors are carefully examined to ensure perfect records. The Public Contract law is enforced. The better class of men rejoice in this accession of moral and business integrity.

The first effect of equal suffrage was that of a quickened public sentiment. The study of economics led to much questioning of husbands and brothers at home, and the disclosures compelled both men and women to demand a thorough renovation. The men who were lukewarm toward the new order, or positively opposed to it, nevertheless found themselves carried by this new spirit into a more earnest and conscientious political life.

Equal suffrage compels the nomination of a better class of officials. The question is becoming more and more imperative. What men will command the vote of women? The laws against gambling and other iniquities are more vigorously enforced. Economy in administration is demanded. For example, the garbage contract in the city of Denver was exorbitant. The Woman's Civic Federation called the attention of the mayor to the monopoly, bids were asked for, and the contract was reduced by one-half.

—*Helen Gilbert Ecob, in New Christianity.*

PRESIDENTIAL POSSIBILITIES.

ONE thing would be open to question in connection with Johnson's candidacy for the Democratic nomination; that is, his lifelong Single Tax propaganda. The Democratic party as a party does not seem to be above taking up an idea against which all the conservative forces in the community are arrayed, but it does this only where it believes that more votes can be bought with it than will be lost by its use. It was that way with the free silver absurdity. When it comes to the Single Tax idea, however, the conditions are different

from the conditions surrounding silver. The Single Taxers, including Jerry Simpson of Kansas, Judge Maguire of California, and sundry well-known men in Washington state, have been driven from public life apparently because of their adhesion to this idea. But it is claimed by the propagandists that the fate which has befallen these persons is due to the failure of the public to understand the Single Tax question as presented politically; that there is a wide-spread belief that the Single Taxers would tear up all settled property interests by the roots and overturn them, but that this fear is absolutely groundless—as much so as the apprehensions aroused now and then about the purposes of the tariff reformers. A campaign of education, they declare, would set the popular mind right on these points, and such a campaign could be conducted in Ohio this year if Tom Johnson were to be the Democratic candidate for governor. This, it is claimed, would clear the air for the national campaign of 1900.

—*Evening Post.*

HOW TO ABOLISH THE SLUMS.

LAND within and near to towns steadily gains value without either effort or expenditure on the part of its owners, but not without effort and expenditure on the part of the urban population. The landowners reap, but do not sow. They refuse to sell except for high prices, and by severely limiting supply cause a perpetual "corner" in the land market. They know that sooner or later the land must be bought at their price, and they can afford to wait. That is to say, the capital value of their property is steadily increasing, but the annual increment is never subjected to the income tax. If it should be vacant land it escapes taxes altogether. If it should be in use for agriculture a benevolent government has ordained that the dwellers in towns should pay a large portion of the rates that fall upon it. And the same people, by making roads and sewers and tramways, and by other expenditure, must hasten the day when the land kept out of the market will become saleable at a price that will necessitate its very economical use, and consequent overcrowding, with all its attendant evils. And this is a matter that does not affect vacant land only.

The community has a right to require that land shall be put to the best possible use, and if obsolete buildings encumber the ground when more modern and more profitable structures might be erected the value of the land for rating purposes should be taken as though it were covered with good buildings instead of ancient and possibly tumble-down premises. Such a method would lead to a much desired reconstruction in many parts of cities and towns where the owners of the ground deliberately stand in the way of necessary local improvements. But what is the existing mode of dealing with dilapidated property? Instead of taxing

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the land on which insanitary property stands according to its legitimate value, and so putting pressure upon its owners to cover it with decent and inhabitable houses, we buy the wretched hovels in order to pull them down, though their owners have been paid for them many times over in the excessive rents that they have too long received. Tax the land and the owners will see that the buildings upon it are such as will enable them to bear the taxation. In this way the taxation of land values would speedily and inevitably abolish slums, and the community would be spared enormous expenditure and would also profit from increased rateable value, and increased employment in the building and all allied trades.

—*Liverpool Daily Post, England.*

LAND TENURE IN INDIA.

THE statement is sometimes made by our opponents, that the Single Tax, or at least the taxation of land values, obtains in India; and an honest Single Tax man who has not been able to give his days and nights to the study of Indian land tenure is often at a loss what to make of the statement. Here is an extract from an article by Mr. G. W. Stevens, the brilliant foreign correspondent of the *London Daily Mail*, which may throw some light on the subject. It is taken from the series of "Some Indian Pictures," which is presently appearing in the *London Daily Mail* and the *Glasgow Daily Record*.

Writing from Calcutta, Mr. Stevens says:

In Bengal, a hundred years ago, the government made what is termed the Permanent Settlement—giving over the land to zemindars, who, under the Mogul rule, had been hereditary land-agents and tax collectors. Finding the zemindars collecting rent from the cultivators it is possible that the Indian government mistook them for landlords in the European sense; at any rate, they were declared *proprietors of the land*, subject to a fixed yearly tax, which was never to vary. It never has varied; in the meantime the population of cultivators has increased vastly, and their industry has reclaimed vast tracts of waste land. All this increment has been swallowed by the zemindars, who have repaid the ryot in many cases by confiscating his land. The average zemindar does no public service in return for his vastly-enhanced income; the government loses revenue which it would otherwise reasonably exact and the ryot loses everything he has.

A tax which is "never to vary" is not a tax on land values.

Mr. Stevens goes on to say:

It is encouraging, in the face of accusations of perfidy, that our government in India prefers to struggle against deficits when it could easily put its budget straight by breaking the promise of one hundred and six years ago—an expedient that any other government there ever was or ever could be in India would have flown to years ago.

But where would the perfidy of such an expedient come in? Our promise to the zemindars, forsooth—gentlemen who obtained their privileges on false pretences, and who do "no public service in return for their vastly enhanced incomes!" What about our holy duty to the poor ryots—whose "industry has reclaimed vast tracts of waste land"—and to the general taxpayers of India? On Mr. Stevens' own showing,

the perfidy was committed one hundred and six years ago, when we despoiled the ryots and the people of India generally, and we virtually recommit that perfidy every year that such a system is allowed to continue. In writing for "imperialistic" newspapers, Mr. Stevens is no doubt expected to take every possible opportunity of praising British rule in India and elsewhere; but he should really watch what he says. To boast that our government in India struggles against deficits, and thus spends the money of the taxpayers in order to uphold a set of admitted idlers and confiscators in their oppression of the industrious—an oppression so severe that "the ryot loses everything he has"—is not the way to commend British rule to the world.

—*N. M., in Single Tax, Glasgow.*

FROM THE STAGE TO THE CROSS.

"I MEANT to say that the ruling power of Russia does not want the tax-paying classes to become either 'too clever or too fat,' both conditions being conducive to the development of an independent mind and rebellious spirit."

"What do you mean by saying the tax-paying classes? Have you in Russia non-tax-paying classes?"

"I again forget that I am speaking not to a Russian. Well, yes, in Russia taxes are paid only by the peasantry, working-men, and the commercial class. They or nobility, the military, the clergy, officialdom, the form what the law calls *Podatnoe Soslovie*, or the tax-paying class, as distinguished from the *Dvoryane*, so-called *Potchetnie grazhdane*, or honorary citizens, some of the professional classes, and of course, the higher aristocracy—dukes, princes, counts, barons, etc., all of whom are free from the usual state taxes, and are designated by the law as the *Priviligerovannoe Soslovie*, or the privileged class. The payment or non-payment of taxes does not make the only difference between these two classes; the law in numerous other cases being different for the two, assigning various advantages to the privileged class as against the tax-paying."

"I venture, sir, nevertheless, to ask one more question before you continue, and then I promise you to listen patiently. Can you tell me the relative numbers of the privileged and of the tax-paying classes?"

"Yes, certainly. When I return home I shall look up the statistics of the population in Russia, with its various classifications, and will tell you exactly the numbers of the two classes, that is, as far as the statistics are reliable. Anyhow, the non-tax-paying class, roughly speaking, can scarcely number more than ten millions in all, as against the tax-paying class of about one hundred and twenty millions. That is to say that each dozen of the poor folk and of the industrial classes has in a measure to support one or another of the privileged class governing them."

—*Jaakoof Prelooker, in the Anglo-Russian.*

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—From A. J. Wilson's "Reciprocity, etc.," pub. 1880.

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WE DEMAND

THE OPENING OF ALL NATURAL OPPORTUNITIES TO LABOR AND CAPITAL,
SO THAT BOTH MAY BE FULLY AND CONSTANTLY EMPLOYED AND RECEIVE THEIR FULL EARNINGS.

TO EFFECT THIS,

WE WOULD TAKE THROUGH TAXATION THE RENTAL VALUE OF LAND, COMPLETELY EXEMPTING IMPROVEMENTS, AND WOULD USE THIS REVENUE FOR PUBLIC PURPOSES IN LIEU OF THE TAXES THAT NOW OPPRESS LABOR AND CAPITAL AND RESTRICT THEIR PRODUCTIVE EMPLOYMENT.

WE desire to obtain copies of *The New Earth* for August and September, 1896. In return for each of the above, we will mail a copy of "The Way Out."

A BILL conferring on the minor political divisions of the state of Michigan authority to determine for themselves what kind of property should be taxed for public purposes came very near being adopted by the legislature. While this bill received a majority of the votes cast, it lacked one of a majority of the entire house which is required in the case of such bills.

The lack of this one vote will be regretted, as it is understood the present governor is favorably disposed to the principle of the bill, and was ready to sign it had it passed; while his successor may not be so favorably disposed to the principle of home rule in taxation, even should the next legislature pass a similar bill.

THE tremendous growth, especially in this country and in the past few months, of those industrial corporations to which, strangely enough, the name trusts has been given is a feature of modern industrial development that cannot fail to set the thoughtful student of sociology to pondering over its cause, its lessons and the final outcome.

Washington Gladden, from whose article in *The Outlook* we quoted last month, says of this development: "It is impossible to believe that a tendency so universal and so irresistible is irrational or wholly unsocial." But granting there be such tendency, the important question is this: Of what force or incentive is this tendency a manifestation? Mr. Gladden speaks as if the impelling motive in the formation of trusts were the mere desire for consolidation for its own sake; but this, surely, is not the case. Men owning manufacturing plants of their own, conducting a business of their own, are not willing, as a rule, to lose so much of their individuality, as many have done, merely for the sake of joining a trust. Every business man knows that when a small concern amalgamates with a trust it is only because its proprietors expect some advantage that will more than counterbalance the loss of independence.

Of course there is no difficulty in determining what is the force or incentive behind the tendency to consolidate. It is the desire of men to attain their ends by the expenditure of the least exertion. This is a universal force, an irresistible force, in human life. It is the universal impelling force toward all progress and development. The cause, then, of the tremendous growth of trusts is the fact, that under conditions that prevail today, men either can, or think they can, attain their end—the accumulation of wealth—easier than in other ways.

What are the lessons of the development of trusts? Mr. Gladden's answer to this question—and in this matter he undoubtedly speaks for the whole socialistic school—is that "the one thing that these multiplying trusts with one voice proclaim is that competition is doomed."

But an answer like this could only be made by one who had not really thought out the problem before him, and it is a little disheartening to find one who is regarded as an economic teacher discoursing thus superficially in a publication like *The Outlook*. For what does an answer like this involve? Does it not involve the statement that competition as a useful factor in human progress is played out, and must be crushed, annihilated? Trusts unquestionably seek to destroy competition. If they are not much maligned corporations, they have, in many cases, pursued this end steadily and mercilessly. But to proclaim that

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competition is thereby doomed is about as ridiculous an inference as that indulged in by that extraordinary publication, *The American Economist*, when it proclaimed the "doom of free trade" on the passage of the Dingley bill. This publication has recently, however, felt compelled to favor its readers with a cartoon representing free trade as a viper scotched but not yet killed. We apologize to Mr. Gladden for mentioning him in such company.

Far from proclaiming the doom of competition, far from proving its failure as a useful factor in human progress, trusts proclaim its triumph. Far from proclaiming the need of destroying competition, what they proclaim is the necessity for an absolutely free competition. What are the facts in the case, without a proper knowledge of which all inferences are valueless?

That most of these large corporations have been quite successful as mere business enterprises is a matter of fact. They have been remunerative to their owners; they have effected economies in production, and have in many ways proved the advantages of concentrated effort.

But how have the men who have been most successful as managers been selected? Is it not by competition, by the trials and tests of practical experience? It is only by such tests that their superior ability over other men for this work has been clearly demonstrated. Does any one imagine that as capable managers could have been selected without this competitive test? Could as capable men have been selected by vote of the people, for instance, in some such way as we vote for alderman, legislators or congressmen? Compare the ability of the two classes of men for their work, and this question answers itself. From this point of view, then, trusts do not proclaim the failure of competition as a useful factor in industrial progress, but its triumph. Surely, then, it is absurd to declare they proclaim its doom.

But, it may be urged, there is another side and a more vital one to the trust question. However remunerative to their shareholders as mere business enterprises they may be there is the effect upon the prosperity of the people at large to be considered. Granting, for example, they have effected economies in production, the consumer has not reaped the benefit in all cases. And even in cases where the consumer has largely reaped the benefit in lower prices, this has been effected at the cost of throwing small manufacturers out of business.

To answer the last objection first. It is surely no objection to trusts that they cheapen useful articles. There is surely no harm in enabling people to obtain things they want by the expenditure of less labor on their part, for that is what cheapness means. Nor can it be any injustice to a manufacturer that another who is able to produce a better article for the same

price or the same article for a less price than he should be permitted so to serve the public. Whatever hardship there be in this case, whatever apparent injustice to a worthy man—and there is hardship as well as injustice at present—must be traceable to some other source. A very little investigation will demonstrate clearly that the cause of the hardship and injustice is the fact that, at present, so few opportunities to employ himself advantageously, and so to serve the public satisfactorily, are open to this man.

These considerations give, in fact, as it seems to us, the clue to the whole question of the harmfulness of trusts. Where their success is a result of their ability to serve the public better than it was served before they justify their existence and prove their right to be let alone. On the other hand when their success as business enterprises rests upon monopoly, and to the extent that it does this, whether it be a monopoly of the natural resources of the country, a monopoly granted as a franchise without due regard to the public interest, or a monopoly resting upon tariff legislation, then are trusts harmful. But the harm springs from the injustice in the monopoly, not in the trust as such.

Thus also from the point of view of the harm they do, trusts do not proclaim the doom of competition, not its failure, not the need of eliminating it, but need of more of it, the need of throwing open every possible opportunity to men to employ themselves, so that every man may be brought into a perfectly free and open competitive field, thus enabling him to demonstrate both to himself and to others the work he is best fitted to do, so best serving himself and best serving others.

And this, in our opinion, indicates what the final outcome of the development of trusts will be. By their gradual absorption of the lucrative businesses of the country and by the results of this process they will make the need of an open field clear as day. They will demonstrate to every one the absolute necessity for opening to all on equal terms every natural opportunity the country affords. The school of practical experience is presided over by a hard master, but the lessons it teaches are worth the cost.

OLD AGE PENSIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

[In the June issue of the *Westminster Review*, the subject of old age pensions is treated by W. Chapman Wright in a way that will appeal to Single Taxers. We reproduce, in substance, the article:]

IT is quite possible to imagine a state of society in which each and every one could provide for his old age, but under existing conditions comparatively few of the people can do so. It is, therefore, under these conditions, necessary for society at large to make some provision for the aged poor.

Of this necessity there is abundant evidence. Take

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for instance Tower Hamlets, a district of London, containing about 600,000 people. At the bottom we find a "savage class," comparatively few in numbers—7,500—who are no better than Fijians. Then come 65,000 who have a constant struggle with starvation, never earning more than 18s. per week; then 110,000 who have a hard fight, getting from 18s. to 21s., while 300,000 who get from 22s. to 30s. per week may be considered well enough off to appreciate our enlightened civilization! Now, these figures show that, although Tower Hamlets is a wealth-producing community, it is not a wealth-consuming one. Landlordism and other causes deprive it of all the wealth it produces save just enough, as it were, to keep soul and body together.

All great centres of population have their "Tower Hamlets," and in no essential particular do the conditions of the agricultural laborers of the country differ from those of the laborers of "Tower Hamlets." The wages of agricultural laborers throughout the United Kingdom range from 9s. to 18s. per week. And it will hardly be seriously contended that from such a pittance a laborer can provide for the evening of his life, when by reason of his diminished power of production he is unable to compete with younger and stronger men. Shall those who have arrived at an age when they can no longer satisfy the demands of employers in the production of wealth be compelled to undergo the indignity of the workhouse or the starvation diet of outdoor relief, with the added stigma of pauperism; or shall there be made by the state some provision other than that which now exists to take the form of a pension in part payment of service rendered?

The necessity for old age pensions is now generally conceded. Both the conservative and liberal parties are ready to take this matter under consideration and act upon it, provided an agreement can be reached as to methods. The duke of Devonshire, Joseph Chamberlain, John Morley and others have spoken in favor of such action.

The objections that have been raised to old age pensions are chiefly on financial grounds, but such objections are not insurmountable, in fact they are not real.

Old age pensions of course do not find favor with some. The duke of Argyle, for instance, whose interest in the workingman leads him to say, "Can we doubt that the prospect of pensions not due to any self-exertion will tend to destroy thrift and foresight in the wage-earning class?"

The duke ought to know the effect of a pension on its recipient. He belongs to a class that has always taken kindly to pensions as such, and the power they have as landowners to appropriate the rents of land does not require much "self-exertion," the exertion is all due to the other fellows who use the land.

Landlordism has destroyed many a good man who otherwise might have experienced the blessings of hard work, and might on 15s. a week have realized all the advantages of thrift and foresight.

From what fund could provision for the old age of those who have all through the heat of the day toiled and spun faithfully for a mere pittance be as justly and appropriately drawn as from the *unearned* incomes of the class of which the duke of Argyle is a shining light—the landowners of the country?

The duke of Argyle and his class have been collecting "the earnings of society," and using them as a "living wage" or "old age pension," or rather a life-long, a perpetual and a perpetually increasing pension, for themselves. By the "earnings of society" I mean "land values," the value of the bare site or plot of land considered without regard to any buildings or improvements which may be attached to it. Land values are created by society, by the community, as it were as a body, without any effort, either original or continuing, on the part of the landowner. Whatever benefit or service he may render as capitalist or worker, as *landowner* he renders no equivalent whatever.

Landowners are exacting rent according to the value which society now gives to the land. They pay their land tax on a valuation made over two hundred years ago. During all this time the duke of Argyle and his class have been securing for themselves more than a living wage—what may in fact be termed a life-long pension—from the earnings of society, and yet they contend "that nothing can be done" by society for the toiling millions.

If a portion of this community-created land value is to be collected and applied to a wider circle of pensioners, it naturally follows that "the upper ten" must content themselves with some reduction of their unearned incomes. But their unearned incomes will still be sufficient to keep them out of the poorhouse or from being dependent on either public or private charity.

The imposition of the land tax of 1692 of 4s. in the pound on its full and true annual value today would yield a revenue of about £40,000,000, which sum would suffice to provide an annual pension of 5s. for every man and woman in the United Kingdom, upon reaching the age of sixty-five, and leave about £15,000,000 available for the abolition of the breakfast table duties and the reduction of the income tax or other of the burdens borne by wealth-producers.

We should not discriminate in the payment of old age pensions. Every one on arriving at the prescribed age should receive it, regardless of his or her condition in life. Even the duke of Argyle and his class should be included among the pensioners, as it is the birth-right of every man to share in community-created land values. And experience teaches that even the

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duke of Argyle and his class would not be above accepting such a pension, however humiliating it might be to their pride.

Another advantage of the taxation of land values should not be lost sight of. It is the line of least resistance to the overthrow of the "house of lords." The only way, in fact, it can be successfully attacked, and its power undermined. The power of the house of lords lies not in the titles of its members but in their ownership of land. Had it not been a house of "landlords" it would have disappeared long ago. By the plan proposed their privilege of acting as tax collectors—*i. e.*, collecting land values, and pocketing the whole—would be gradually lessened; more and more of their unearned incomes being, with each increase of land value taxation, retained by society. There is no difficulty in deciding upon the method that the commons should adopt in dealing with the "lords." The question simply is, Are the commons in earnest in their attempt to control these "hereditary wreckers?"

Taxation of land values, and that alone, will destroy this scourge of modern civilization.

BEING BROUGHT TO JUDGMENT.

HENRY GEORGE more than once called attention in his writings to the fact that landlordism, that is, the ownership of land, has taken on in this country a character somewhat different from that which it has assumed in Europe. In Europe it is still tinged with the conception of the middle ages regarding it. There the great landlords are the inheritors of many of the conceptions of feudal times. In these times the landlord was simply the head of his clan, and the relationship between him and his tenants was a clan relationship. He represented and acted for the clan in its intercourse, peaceful or warlike, with other clans. His position was analogous on one side to that of the head of the family and on the other to the king who, on his part represented and acted for a confederation of clans, that is, a nation.

Now while the old feudal relationship no longer exists, landlordism in Europe is still tinged with it, as has been said. There is still, except in large cities of course, a sentiment clinging about the relation of landlord and tenant which obscures its essential character. The great landlords of Europe profess, at least, to be under some obligations to their tenants other than mere commercial ones. The relationship partakes somewhat of paternalism, not differing essentially from that which formerly existed in the southern states between a fair-minded master and his slaves.

But landlordism in this country and in this day is landlordism pure and simple, unmixed with, unmodified by considerations other than mere commercial ones. Here, then, it has free scope, here, in clearer light than elsewhere, it must eventually manifest itself

in its true character. And this is surely what is taking place today.

Landlordism is not yet full grown even in this country. It has not yet left its cubhood wholly behind. It still appears to many a harmless thing, and a perfectly orderly, natural development. Perhaps to none has it yet manifested to the full its inherent savagery.

But landlordism is growing fast and fierce. It is branching out into great families of landlords, of landlords pure and simple, untrammelled by the sentimental considerations that still quite largely influence the landlords of Europe. It is branching out into great syndicates of landlords owning hundreds of square miles of rich and fertile soil. It is branching out again into great franchise owners, into great tariff-fed and bounty-fed industrial corporations. It is revealing itself before God and man the hideous thing it is.

And it is well that this should be so. It is a most hopeful sign to him who reads the lesson of human life understandingly. It is a sign that landlordism is coming up for trial before a court from whose judgment there can be no appeal, the court of ultimate results, of last things.

And who can doubt what the verdict of this court will be? It can be none other than the condemnation unto death of landlordism and all its man-devouring progeny.

A. J. AUCHTERLONIE.

THIEVES AND THIEVERY.

"I HATE a thief."

"It is exasperating, my lad! Trying! Exceedingly trying!"

"My bicycle! my beautiful bicycle! It is gone, certainly. And so is our proposed run. The rascal wrenched off the padlock. Here's a piece of it. Hope he'll get thrown and break his neck."

"Take it bravely, my boy!"

"What do you suppose thieves were made for, anyway?"

"Let us take a walk instead. And the while make a mental excursion into this very subject of stealing and dishonesty. Possibly we may strike some interesting paths of thought."

"Well! any one who will deliberately steal ought to be killed. That's my start off."

"A slower pace may be safer, my lad."

"Just putting a thief into prison is too good for him. He deserves to have his face smashed! Set up for a public target! I'd like to decorate his eyes artistically, and beautify his countenance generally."

"Many people in the community, I fear, would soon have woefully disfigured faces if they received their deserts under your code."

"Do you think there are so many thieves around?"

"Not of such a rank and repulsive sort as this one. That kind are soon put out of sight. But if your

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penalty were rigorously applied to all transgressors of the command 'Thou shalt not steal,' I fancy few of us would escape with presentable faces."

"I don't think everybody is so bad. I wouldn't steal. I've got no desire that way."

"Perhaps you will disown any desire to kill or hurt any one, decorate their eyes and beautify their countenances generally."

"Oh, well! what would you have me do? Excuse that miserable thief? Defend and uphold his thieving?"

"Oh no. Condemn his action as vigorously as you please. Hate it! using the word in the sense of strong aversion. But why hate the man personally, or wish him harm?"

"Then I should hate the action, but not the man?"

"Precisely. Hate the theft, but not the thief. You have reason to hate the action; it has brought injury enough to you both. It has caused you irritation, disappointment and loss of a favorite wheel. It has subjected that man's soul to a drenching in theft-brine. Isn't that harm enough at one time? Why should you in addition open within your own heart the flood-gates of hatred toward a fellow man?"

"Whether I hate the thief or hate his thieving—what difference will it make?"

"The greatest difference. They lead in opposite directions. The more you hate the thief personally the more brutal and fiend-like you will grow. But the more you hate thieving in general the more alert your higher nature will become in checking the subtle tendencies to steal that are in your own nature."

"What are these subtle tendencies to steal?"

"First, we may ask, What is stealing?"

"Why, stealing is taking something that belongs to another, I should say."

"So when you first took that same bicycle from the shopkeeper, to whom it belonged, you stole it—did you?"

"No indeed. I bought it. And paid for it."

"Then stealing does not consist merely in taking property that belongs to another, but rather in not rendering an equivalent value in return."

"Amended definition! Stealing is taking the property of another without giving a just equivalent."

"Are we quite sure? Let us suppose a case. When you bought that wheel you honestly thought you paid the owner its proper value. Suppose it afterwards transpired that the money you paid him was counterfeit. And in actual fact the man realized nothing for his property. Under those conditions, did you steal that bicycle?"

"Certainly not. I meant to pay him. My intention was honest. And therefore there can be no taint of stealing."

"Then stealing, after all, is a matter of intention. In the case supposed your act of taking away the

wheel would involve a dead loss to the owner just as this thief's action involved a dead loss to you. Your action and his action were alike and involved like consequences. The essential difference between you two being this, that while you intended to render a satisfactory equivalent, he did not. And separated merely by this difference of intention, he is a thief and you are not."

"He is a thief because he intended to rob me, to defraud me, to cause me loss."

"You cannot be so sure that he positively intended to injure you or cause you loss. He probably never gave it a thought. He wanted the wheel, and intended to take it whether it cost anybody loss or not. He simply didn't care. Let us go over the ground again. He was moved by a positive intention to get that wheel. And so were you when you bought it. That intention, in and of itself, was not reprehensible in either him or you. But in his case the trouble seemed to be that his intention to get the wheel was not properly balanced by an accompanying intention to render a satisfactory equivalent. If there was any such intention formed in his mind it was so weak that it gave way, and dishonesty slipped in through the breach."

"Then stealing springs from the lack of balance in the man's intention?"

"Yes. It seems to me that thieving springs not necessarily from the desire to injure others, nor yet from the desire to appropriate, but rather from an absence or weakness of desire to deal justly with others. It is in the depths of our careless disregard for others, it is in man's native jungle of 'Don't care' that the theft-fiend hides."

"If he would only remain in hiding! But we've just had a lamentable instance of his stalking forth and capturing his man completely. Are all men liable to this danger?"

"Not in the same degree. But of this we may be sure, that any man who is content to enjoy property or privilege the acquiring of which he knows involves injury and loss to others, has stealing in his heart. The theft-fiend is still at large in the jungle of his nature."

L. E. WILMARTH.

A CONFESSION OF SOCIAL FAITH.

NONE IN MERE INDIVIDUALISM.

I AM not able to agree with the theories of count Tolstoi, who is what is called a Christian anarchist, or Christian nihilist. He is an individualist of the extreme sort; he thinks that if each individual, merely as an individual, would do right, or would exactly obey Christ's law, he would be his own kingdom of heaven; each individual would be millennium all by himself, and then the millennium would be established in the world, the kingdom of heaven coming through indi-

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vidualistic action. But humanity is something more than a collection of individuals, just as this hand is something more than a certain number of fingers. Human life is an organism, and men are members one of another. True individuality is attained only in association. Men fulfill their individuality only as they act together as one man in the pursuit of certain ideals. A man cannot and ought not to be free all by himself. Men can get out of the scrape in which we find ourselves only as they get out of it together. And that ought to be so, because otherwise what you call the redemption of man would take the form of extreme selfishness; it would take the form of spiritual egotism of the cruellest sort. That humanity is an organism is not a mere academic phrase. We are members one of another whether we want to be or not; and whatever progress or social development we seek, must be through our acting together, through mutuality of regard and of interest. Our freedom must be achieved through each of us seeking freedom for the other man; our freedom can be achieved only as we achieve freedom for the human whole. We cannot bring about the social evolution, or social perfection through going back on humanity, through trying to prevent the blossoming of the world, because really that is devolution, not evolution; that is going backward, not forward. No one could practice Single Tax all by himself—thank God! If that is his way of setting the world right, he can find no way to practice it except by seeking a way through which all will be entitled to practice it with him, and that ought to be so. So I cannot agree with the Christian anarchist of the noble Tolstoi sort. And, by the way, the term anarchist is being bandied about so much that it is changing from a term of opprobrium to almost a term of honor. But I do not believe that true individuality is attained through each man making his own life the center and object of his effort and interest. A man attains his individuality only through giving his life, the sum total of it, to the common life; he saves his life only by losing it in the welfare of his brothers; and that ought to be so.

NONE IN A HYDRA-HEADED DESPOTISM.

Again, I am not able to agree with socialism as it is held by the German thought. While socialism has undergone many modifications in England and America, while the Fabian socialist, the Christian socialist, and some who call themselves individualists and Single Taxers, find themselves drawing together; yet, taking the socialistic program in its German origin, at least, I could by no means find myself satisfied with adopting it. I will try to explain why. If I were so put to it that I must choose between the existing order of things and the program proposed by extreme socialism, I should hardly know what to do; perhaps I should prefer extreme German socialism to the present order.

It would be better to wander in the wilderness until we attained liberty of soul at last than not to attain liberty at all, just as it was better for the children of Israel to wander in the wilderness than never to reach the promised land. But none the less, from my point of view, it is not the direct and simple way, the short-cut way, to that freedom and equality of opportunity we seek for all men. Socialism assumes, even unconsciously, many of the old political and economic doctrines from which we are trying to escape. That is, it assumes that men must be ruled, and be kept at work, by the dominion of some kind of force. German socialism carried out would be simply a hydra-headed instead of a single-headed despotism, and men would find their last estate not much less intolerable than their first. Imperialism of any sort—anything that assumes that men must be governed by compulsion, anything which proposes to take the individual's life out of his own hands and make it a part of a vast machine—is but a revision of the absolutism from which the race has been struggling and emerging through the centuries. Whatever the social future is to be, whatever the form of social organization, the social reconstruction must take such form as will guarantee to every man complete freedom to live his own life; complete freedom to do as he will with the work of his own hands; complete freedom to choose the resources by which he can best express his individuality. A despotism of a majority, even over each individual member of that majority, or a despotism of majority over the minority, or anything whatsoever under the sun that puts the life of any man under the rule of any other man, or under the rule of any number of men, is against the divine course of history.

ALL IN JUSTICE AND FREEDOM.

But I do believe that the Single Tax furnishes the elemental basis for the society which I look to see yet realized upon the earth. I believe in the dream that I cherish, and that I hint at on various occasions, because I believe in the divine life of man; because I believe in human life as the real presence of God; because I believe that history is the outworking of the ideal of human life which God has made known to us in Christ.

Against every soul born tonight a crime is committed by civilization, because most of these souls are born into a world in which they have no environment adapted to the free development of their life and their individuality. It is every man's right to be born into a world in which every resource, every environment, shall immediately press upon him to the unfolding of his life according to the patterns of the highest conceivable aspirations and ideals. If men are born into a world in which the land is so pre-empted, in which the face of the earth is so organized or owned, in which there is such a system of things that they have

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no standing-ground upon the earth, then, at the very outset, the foundation for the building of their lives is taken from under their feet; men are born to live on the earth, but after all they have no earth to live on. Life, liberty, air, land, equality of opportunity, the pursuit of his own highest ideals and happiness,—all of these are the inalienable right of every individual soul. All the resources of the collective life should be such as to immediately build up the soul when it enters its sphere of development. But, as you find things here, all the resources of the collective life are so possessed, owned, administered, that the moment a soul comes to self-consciousness it begins a desperate and deadly and damning conflict with the whole collective life of the world in order to maintain itself.

The moment a soul begins to reflect and to act, it finds itself in a world so organized and owned that it has to struggle for life, struggle to escape economic destruction, struggle with a desperation that blights and dwarfs and consumes, in a desperate battle against a civilization which is the enemy of the soul.

Now no man can ever be wholly right unless he has his inalienable rights upon which to stand. No man can ever be wholly true unless he has a foundation of truth to stand upon in the collective life; just as no man can ever have his rights except they be founded in righteousness.

WHAT WILL GIVE US JUSTICE AND FREEDOM.

So far as it goes, the Single Tax furnishes a basis for a true democracy, in that it does mean absolute democracy in the benefits of public resources. It means that elemental democracy which is voluntary association; democracy is merely the fellowship of the people, or the brotherhood of the people, agreeing how they shall act together.

This democracy is indeed more radical than socialism, more radical than the Christian anarchy of Tolstoi; it is pure communism in natural resources. That is, it means that every human being must have equal access with every other human being to all the benefits derived from living on the face of the earth. In this sense it is the truest kind of equality, so far as it goes; that is, economically, it is absolute economic equality in the use of land. It would not matter whether any man chose to possess land himself or not, whether he lived in the city or in the country, he would be equal with every other man in all the benefits arising from land and natural resources. Opportunity to use land, air, water, and so on, would be equal. . . .

The Single Tax would immediately change the moral conditions of the common life, and change our standards of moral values. Let me specify what I mean. Let me bring to your imagination a man who speculates in land about the city of Chicago. He has some money, this imaginary man has, and he invests it in lands that he knows will rise in value; his mon-

opoly is a mightier force than Cæsar's army. He raises nothing on his land, neither potatoes nor disturbances. He does nothing whatever, except gamble, and each time he holds the trump card. He grows richer and richer every year; and he turns philanthropist, this imaginary man does. He presently begins to give \$25,000 or \$50,000, to each of certain colleges, in the West, this imaginary man does—not to the college to which I belong, however. The colleges put his picture in the libraries, and the man becomes enshrined in the religious newspapers and churches and colleges as a patron saint of a great religious denomination, and of the educational world, so that it is little short of blasphemy to speak of him disrespectfully. Now look at the effect on social morals! The student, the preacher in the pulpit, every reader of the religious newspaper is immensely injured in soul or spiritually debauched by this giver's gifts. Here is a man who, by this system by which you let him gamble upon the resources of God, which are the resources of the people, becomes a model for the young manhood in colleges and churches; becomes a sort of religious ideal. Yet he has produced nothing under the sun; he does nothing but gamble on the well-being of the people; and then he gives tithes of his gains; and every young man, every young woman, every preacher in the pulpit, every religious newspaper, the whole moral life, the soul of every citizen in this commonwealth, is damned and injured by that one man. . . .

The religious well-being of every soul roots itself back in the economic system. You cannot have pure individuality out of a corrupt and debauched industrialism, out of a false system.

A pure-souled citizenship means, then, the ownership by the people of their natural resources to be used for the common good; means that we believe in the presence in man and nature of an infinite life. The life of nature, the life of man, is simply the eternally-unfolding, the eternally-becoming life of God. The struggle of the soul of man for self-realization, the struggle of man to be delivered from necessity and force, the struggle of man to unbind himself and unwind himself and stand free and unfeared with his own life in hand, is but the life of God working itself out in the soul of each man. There is in man a divine law, a divine process, a divine life, which needs no masters—no masters. Masters are always an injury. A beneficent despotism is the worst possible despotism. A master full of good-will is even more injurious than a master with a bad will. Man and life need to be set free. The true end of social reconstruction is not to put new and other kinds of burdens on man, but to take off man's soul the burdens that are already there; to let the sunlight of the spiritual universe shine on the man; to tell him there is nothing to fear, that he is free—that he is free.

—From an address delivered by Prof. Geo. D. Herron, before the Chicago Single Tax Club, and published by them in tract form.

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—Samuel M. Jones.

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—Burke.

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The New Earth

Devoted to the study and illustration of Social Problems on Moral and Religious Grounds

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PUBLISHED IN SINGLE TAX INTERESTS ON THE FIRST OF EACH MONTH, BY

JOHN FILMER,
L. E. WILMARTH,
A. J. AUCHTERLONIE, } *Editorial*
M. CEBELIA HOLLISTER, } *Board.*

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SO THAT BOTH MAY BE FULLY AND CONSTANTLY EMPLOYED AND RE-
CEIVE THEIR FULL EARNINGS.

TO EFFECT THIS,

WE WOULD TAKE THROUGH TAXATION THE RENTAL VALUE OF LAND, COM-
PLETELY EXEMPTING IMPROVEMENTS, AND WOULD USE THIS REVENUE
FOR PUBLIC PURPOSES IN LIEU OF THE TAXES THAT NOW OPPRESS LA-
BOR AND CAPITAL AND RESTRICT THEIR PRODUCTIVE EMPLOYMENT.

Our Single Tax friend and occasional correspond-
ent, Dr. Wm. N. Hill, of Baltimore, has been nomin-
ated for governor of Maryland by the Union Reform
party of that state. The platform makes but one
issue at present. It demands the initiative and refer-
endum.

MAYOR JONES of Toledo, having received more
than the requisite number of petitions to entitle his
name to be placed on the Ohio official ballot, an-
nounced that he would make the canvass for governor
on a platform declaring for direct making of laws by
the people, public ownership of all public utilities,
union wages, hours, and conditions, or better, for
skilled labor, and an eight-hour day with living wages
for unskilled labor on all public work, and the abol-
ition of the contract system and exploitation of
prison labor.

A CALL for a conference of Single Taxers, residents
of New York state, to be held Saturday, Sunday, and
Monday, September 2, 3, and 4, has been issued. It is
proposed to organize the Single Taxers of the state
for the purpose of carrying on more effectively an
educational propaganda. Geo. P. Hampton, of the
National Single Taxer, Lawson Purdy, and H. C. S.

Stimpson are the committee chosen to have charge of
the arrangements. The committee invites suggestions
and recommendations. Address all communications to
H. C. S. Simpson, secretary, 11 Pine street, New York
city.

HENRY GEORGE Memorial Meetings will be held
Saturday and Sunday, September 2 and 3, in a large
number of places, not only in this country but also in
Canada and Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand,
and at Durban, Province of Natal, South Africa.

In New York city the meeting will be held at
Grand Central Palace, Sunday, September 3, at 2.30
p. m. It will be under the auspices of the Manhattan
Single Tax Club, which will have the co-operation of
the labor organizations of the city. The band of the
Letter Carriers' Association has promised to partici-
pate. Among the speakers expected are: Tom L.
Johnson, Dr. McGlynn, John N. Parsons, Andrew
McLean, Rabbi Gottheil, and possibly governor
Pingree.

IN view of the prominence of open air street meet-
ings among the methods of Single Tax propaganda
work, and of the probability of still further use of this
means, the article by Samuel Seabury, president Man-
hattan Single Tax Club, in the *National Single Taxer*
for this month is a timely utterance. Mr. Seabury
quotes decisions by the higher courts, maintaining the
right of any one to use the streets for such purposes,
provided only that such meetings do not block the
thoroughfare and cause no inconvenience to passers
by. It has been customary in some cities to obtain
permits from the police to hold street meetings, but
Mr. Seabury's quotations establish the fact that such
permits are not essential, at least under the law of
New York state, and inferentially of other states. It
is the duty of the police, of course, to maintain order,
and, because of this, it is well that they be notified of
any intention to hold street meetings.

THE *National Single Taxer* is organizing a Lecture
Bureau, and, as a beginning, arranged the trip to Cali-
fornia and return on which John S. Crosby started last
month. It is to be hoped this effort will be sustained,
and as aid in this direction we invite contributors to
our own Crosby lecture fund to renew their subscrip-

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members live, but the conditions in which those on the very lowest rung of the social ladder dwell.

Society, by its inter-related industries and interests, is a veritable chain whose strength, usefulness and power to endure depend upon its very weakest link, not its strongest. It matters not, therefore, how strong we make any link except the weakest, the chain, as such, is not thereby strengthened. On the contrary it is actually weakened by the useless extra weight it has to carry.

So with any existing civilization its true character is determined by the status of those at the bottom; of those who enjoy the fewest of the things which such civilization furnishes.

And as with a chain, he who would strengthen it must strengthen its weakest link, so with society, he who would work for its permanent improvement must work for that which will uplift those who are called at the bottom, perhaps even those we call outcasts and criminals.

Until these latter are redeemed, are lifted out of the state of degradation, in which they now exist, the bonds of society are faulty and weak; and the social structure is liable to crumble when subjected, as it must sometime be, to some unusually severe test.

A. J. AUCHTERLONIE.

THE MAN WITH THE HOE AND MAN WITHOUT THE HOE.

EDWIN MARKHAM'S widely known and justly celebrated poem, "The Man with the Hoe," has been the subject of some strange criticisms, strange because they betray a lack of apprehension of the force of the picture Markham draws that seems inconceivable at this end of the nineteenth century. Witness the following extracts from letters published in the weekly literary review of the *New York Times* of August 5 (italics ours).

A chorus of approbation has welcomed the remarkable poem, "The Man with the Hoe," remarkable for its beauty and not less for the untruth it so eloquently preaches. . . . Great as is the distance between Mr. Markham and "The Man with the Hoe," it is as nothing as compared with that between them both and their prehistoric ancestor. *The gain to "The Man with the Hoe" is enormous.* He, too, "is heir to all the ages," and has received a part of that great inheritance. The human race is not being degraded. It moves onward and upward. Our own generation has seen the abolition of slavery in America and of serfdom in Russia. The Peace Congress at The Hague is a stepping stone toward Tennyson's dream of a parliament of men, a federation of the world. Men are better fed, clothed, and housed than they were fifty years ago. Children are being educated. Pestilence has lost half its terrors. Famine is met and conquered. Disease is alleviated. Justice is softened. Manners are milder. The passion of philanthropy extends. We have much yet to do, *but the desire to do it is widespread and reaches all ranks of society.* Let us thank God and take courage. Beautiful as the poem is, it is false in tone and intention, for pessimism is not the law of life.

True, the race moves "onward and upward," and we acknowledge that the desire to aid it on its course is widespread. But it is not by "the passion for philanthropy that its course will be aided, but by a love,

growing ever more intelligent and observing, of justice. It is absurd, moreover, to say that the gain to the man with the hoe is enormous, unless in our efforts to maintain that position we deny all historical evidence. The men with hoes are absolutely, as well as relatively, worse off today than the same class were in England for centuries before the time when Henry VIII. seized the lands of the church and sold them to the shrewd traders of his time.

The lines are a striking example of mere intense, impulsive writing. They are dominated by a single feeling, of which they are an extreme expression, and in consequence of this they distort and caricature the truth. Not only are the broad facts in the case ignored, but also there is exhibited an absolute lack of the sentiment of hope. A really great and satisfying poem on this subject would take note of all the conditions, deal out censure or approval judicially and fully, and be pervaded by a joyous, or at least serene, faith in a beneficent outcome. Prof. Markham's sociological point of view appears to be considerably biased. He seems to be thoroughly convinced that the existing social system is arbitrarily imperfect, and that well-to-do persons, although they themselves are at the best very imperfect, are to blame for this lack of perfection. *But the social system is not the artificial creation of a deliberate intent. It is a necessary product in the natural course of evolution of the forces and conditions resident in man and nature. . . .* In any city Prof. Markham could have found much stronger basis and justification for such a poem.

The poem asks:

"How will you ever straighten up this shape?"

Well, one answer, given in all seriousness, might be, "Lengthen that hoe handle." The psychical effect of an erect physical posture is not to be sneered at. The continued bodily stoop of the peasant, due to the use of a hoe adapted only for a ten-year-old boy, must more or less infect his mental and moral constitution. Improved tools would enable the peasantry greatly to amend its condition. The first needed missionary of awakening to such as Prof. Markham has in mind is evidently an enterprising introducer of modern agricultural devices. Manufacturers, rather than "masters, lords, and rulers," should attend to this.

In the *New York Sun* of the same week there appeared a letter from one of its correspondents, which that journal pronounced to be "a well-known gentlemen, whose entire responsibility is unquestionable," offering prizes of four hundred, two hundred and one hundred dollars respectively for the three best poems on "The Man without the Hoe."

By the man without the hoe the writer means

he who cannot get work, or, having the opportunity to labor, won't do it. There are thousands of young men in this country who have been educated up to the point where the honest and healthful occupation of their fathers in the field has become distasteful to them, and, in many cases, they have grown to be ashamed of it and of their parents. In European countries, particularly, there are multitudes of young men, the younger sons of titled people, for instance, who have been taught that common labor or work in the trades is beneath them, and they sink their individuality, their manhood, and their future in the ranks of the army and in petty government positions. They must have money, but they must earn it only in a "genteel" way. *These are the men without the hoe—the real brothers to the ox.* Who shall tell their story? Who shall best sing the bitter song of the incapables who walk the earth, driven hither and thither like beasts by the implacable sentiment of a false social education, suffering the tortures of the damned and bringing distress upon those dependent on them, because they have lost that true independence of soul that comes to him who dares to labor with his hands, who wields the hoe and is the master of his destiny.

Fancy calling men to whom farm life has become

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distasteful and who seek to earn money in a "genteel" way, "real brothers to the ox," the patient, plodding farmer's ox. Fancy, too, the kind of poems inspired by offers of four hundred, two hundred and one hundred dollars, respectively. Yet the maker of the offer, "well-known" and of "unquestionable responsibility" as he is vouched to be, sees no incongruousness in his offer, nor in the words with which he closes it.

Either the "Man with the Hoe" is a type of the great mass of those who use farming implements for a livelihood, or else he is an exception. If the latter, then the strength of the sentiment uttered lies in the concealment of its weakness, and if the former, then the poem does wrong to a most respectable and able-bodied multitude of citizens, every one of whom ought to resent Mr. Markham's attempt to throw "the emptiness of ages in his face," and certainly deserves better of the poet than to be called a "monstrous thing" and "brother to the ox." From time immemorial the tiller of the soil has been invested with his full share of the honor of this world, and where any individual example of the class—or, in fact, of any honest and respectable class—has given reason for Mr. Markham's inquiry: "Whose breath blew out the light within this brain?" it can, I think, be safely said that the man's own breath blew it out. There is no occasion for a farmer to have his soul quenched or to become a "dumb terror." He can hold his head as high as any man's, and he generally does, and what calling is more honorable—at least in this country?—to which, by the way, I understand Mr. Markham's observation and study have been confined.

But all disapproving criticisms of Markham's masterpiece have not been as "cloddy" as the above. Under the title "The Man without the Hoe," which each of the above seem also to have adopted as the key note of his criticism, the *World* recently published an editorial in which we find these words:

Where did this man get his hoe? What would he be without his hoe? Without his hoe he would be tearing up the earth with his nails in a search for wild roots, or leaping from tree to tree nibbling nuts and starting at every breath of the breeze in fear that an enemy was coming to mangle him. Without his hoe, without that which civilization has given him, he would be without aspiration and without hope, sunk in brutish bestiality, the sport of famines and of fevers, of his own ignorance and of the ignorant cruelty of the stronger members of his race. The oppressions, the barbarisms, the cruelties, the miseries of the human race are not chargeable to the race. They represent the chains wherewith nature bound man in the beginning. They represent the deep, dark and slimy caves in which humanity with intellect as a lamp has been slowly and painfully groping toward the light of day. To charge civilization with human misfortunes past and present is like accusing medical science of inventing and releasing the diseases which it is striving to cure. Rightly to understand "The Man with the Hoe" we must look at another picture—"The Man without the Hoe."

True, eternally true, it is that rightly to understand the one picture we must have the other also in mind. True, also, it is that "the oppressions, the barbarisms, the miseries of the human race" represent "the chains wherewith nature bound man in the beginning." Nature, in and of herself, yields subsistence to man only in his primitive state, to make her serve civilized man she must be chained in her turn, harnessed, urged and even forced to yield the service man requires of her.

Still truer is it, moreover, that external nature does but represent in her turn—and the editorial in question seems to hint this—human nature; and that nature's chains but represent our own native ignorance and

narrowness, the chaos of our hearts, our conception of ourselves as mere individual unrelated existences without bond of fellowship, owning allegiance to no god but brute force and the claims of our animal nature.

And these chains in great measure bind us still; but let it be understood through no fault of ours; they are not of our forging. Nor are they the useless things some would have us believe them to be. They give us anchor-hold at times when we sorely need it. Like external nature herself, too, they call into exercise within us faculties that, but for them, would ever remain dormant. By their pressure upon us, by the rankling sores they cause, they stimulate thought and action, and so by their very opposition enable us to attain unto something like human proportions. Without these chains to rankle us, without this opposition to stimulate us, we should at best be as sheep or doves, veritable "brothers to the ox," though gentle ones. The ox, the sheep, and the dove are the abject dependents and slaves of nature. She feeds or starves them at will. They can compel her to do nothing for them but what she does spontaneously or of her own free will.

What, now, is the inspiring lesson of "The Man with the Hoe?" Is it the hopeless, complaining pessimism that these poor critics take it to be? Nay, rather is it not a true optimism? Do not both Markham the poet and Millais the painter, by their vivid representation of a man bound by the chains of physical necessity and of a crude social state, issue to the world a trumpet call to straighten the links of the chain, to come out of the "deep, dark and slimy caves" in which the race is still dwelling as to all its higher possibilities. For while the first true interpretation of "The Man with the Hoe" must always be that of the hopeless toiler at the foot of the industrial ladder, whether he be in the field or in the sweat-shop; a second and still truer interpretation must ever be that of society itself still bound in great measure by the "chains wherewith nature bound man in the beginning."

No; this strong poem is not pessimistic, but the reverse. It does not ignore the fact that the world is making progress, but it calls upon us not to rest satisfied with the progress we have already made. It is pessimistic, if one may so call it, only in the sense that it reveals something to be gotten rid of as an impediment to future progress. This is an invariable accompaniment to all true progress, it reveals impediments unseen before. What did the world know, not so many years ago, of the evil, the horror, the sin of human slavery. The very revelation of that sin was a result of greater intellectual light among men. Would you call a man pessimistic who opened the blinds of a darkened room and so caused its dust and disorder to be revealed? Why then call "The Man with the Hoe" pessimistic because it does practically the same thing?

A. J. AUCHTERLONIE.

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form, the capitalist press characterize the proposal as "legalized robbery." This phrase sounds well, and some day we may give our readers a disquisition on its meaning; but, meantime, we ask them to think over the subject, and they will come to the conclusion that almost all robberies of any importance are legalized robberies. The commandment, "Thou shalt not steal," requires to be broadened in its interpretation, so that the legal robbers may be prevented from living on the results of the work of those who really add to the wealth of the community. The landlord who enriches himself by raising his rents on account of the improvements made by a town council is a legal robber, and the capitalist classes make the greater part of their wealth by means which are within the four corners of the law, but which are robbery in the moral sense. Such proposals as the taxation of land values have for their object the return for the use of the community of part of what has been stolen by legal means.

Some time ago, in Glasgow, a large piece of ground was bought at £20 per square yard, for the purpose of making an addition to a government office, which a few years before could have been obtained for about one-eighth of that price, the total cost being £60,000. This practically means a burden for all time coming on the community in order that the proprietor of the land may live as a gentleman, as such a person is usually called. His proper designation is a "legal robber." We would ask our readers to look around and make a list of the legal robberies which they have observed, and we believe that they will be surprised at their number. If co-operators would only consider this matter they would see that so long as co-operation is for the most part confined to shopkeeping, it will do little to improve the conditions of the people. The dividend from the store rather helps to buttress up the system which co-operation is meant to replace.

—*Scottish Co-operator.*

WHERE THERE IS ROOM FOR EXPANSION.

EVERY intelligent, honest citizen should favor the policy of expansion. There is ample room for it, and there is also a crying necessity for broad and well-directed expansion in various directions.

Genuine patriotism—such as tends toward the establishment and maintenance of better social conditions in our own country—should expand as rapidly as possible. It is an easy matter for any man with mouth and lungs to shout for "old glory," but not so easy for all men to be good citizens and always throw their influence on the side of truth, justice and equal rights in the conduct of our own domestic affairs.

There should be expansion in the matter of education on practical lines, such as will enable every voter, present or prospective, to familiarize himself with the true science of government.

Moral courage should be invited to expand, so that

every honest man can stand up in the face of wrong and bid it defiance.

Political honesty should expand, to the end that voters may cease to elect legislatures composed chiefly of tricksters and scallawags whose official acts bring disgrace upon a commonwealth and cause decency to blush with shame.

Opportunities for all to apply their labor to natural resources—the only way in which wealth can be produced—should expand in all directions.

Personal freedom should be permitted to expand to such an extent that all will find it easy to earn a living without being robbed under the forms of law.

Opposition to landlordism should expand, and continue to expand, till that greatest of all monopolies has been relegated to the shades of oblivion, and nature's resources made accessible to all alike.

There needs to be a liberal expansion of knowledge in the important science of political economy—the science that shows men what civil government is for, and how the rights of every individual can be protected without detriment to the community as a whole, and with the happiest results for all concerned.

Justice needs expansion, in order that there shall no longer be special privileges for any person or class, but simply equal rights and equal opportunities for all, without distinction of race, color, social accomplishments or financial condition.

Opposition to trusts should expand, unless it is the intention of the people of the United States to surrender themselves entirely to the power of organized monopoly, and become chattel slaves, as the masses are already industrial slaves.

Freedom of trade and commerce should expand, as it naturally will if not hampered by unwise laws and ordinances.

But above all, there should be an expansion of knowledge concerning the Single Tax, so that people may understand that it is not a plan to tax the rich and untax the poor; but a natural, scientific method for supplying the public treasury with sufficient revenue without robbing any one, without taking from the rich or poor anything that rightfully belongs to them, or punishing any person for being industrious and useful.

On every one of these propositions, and many more which could be named, it is perfectly safe for everybody to be expansionists, and very radical ones at that.

RALPH HOYT.

THE LAW OF PROHIBITIONS.

IN one brief sentence Swedenborg epitomizes and formulates the entire religious duty of man. It is this: "to shun evils as sins against God."

Like all condensations of spiritual truth this intensely practical maxim involves the acknowledgment of universal principles, and is capable of wide-spread application.

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If we define the term evil, in a general way, as the more or the less than plentitude; as misplacement from the line of greatest use; as invasion by some force into the field or function of another; for example, fever which is excess of bodily heat encroaching upon neighboring functions; or again, a conflagration, which is a useful agent out of its path of greatest use; or for another instance, when, in man his self-love invades the field of supreme motive; or in associated life, when the individual appropriates that which belongs to the whole body, and vice versa; then with this conception of the nature of evil it is at once evident that the actual "shunning of evils" in all the experiences of life must lead straight toward the ideal of development. And if this rule of life were rigorously applied to the various planes of our being from topmost to lowest, from outmost material to inmost spiritual, it could not but result in the highest perfection of all-around development.

In the realm of religious life this teaching of Swedenborg leads man away from asceticism as surely as it condemns licentiousness. It will tend toward the building up of the superb structure of spiritual life, not upon a base enfeebled by neglect, but upon a full-grown, healthy, natural life. It is taken for granted that the growth of either one on its own plane involves no loss or injury to the other, but on the contrary only mutual benefit.

The admonition "To shun evils as sins against God," is not a dictation of what man shall do, but rather what man shall not do. It would sanction the full, free, orderly activity of every human faculty and function, even to those of the humblest appetites of the body. It forbids only the encroachment of one activity upon the province of another.

Turning to the field of economics, if we adopt this plan of "shunning evils as sins" as a guide in the formation of our opinions, then must we differ as widely from those who would allow the state to absorb the function of the individual as from those who would have the individual ignore the functions of the state. And is not this really the position of the Single Taxer in his relation to socialism on the one hand and philosophical anarchy on the other?

Is there not a strong analogy between the differing methods of treating bodily ailments and the various plans proposed to remedy social disorders? We see, as one extreme, great numbers of men placing implicit faith in doctors and drugs as direct agents of health. And as an opposite extreme we have Christian scientists who claim to cure disease by utterly denying its existence. Probably the great mass of mankind still place implicit faith in the direct efficacy of legislation and human law to remedy social grievances. If the masses are being impoverished by the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, pass a law to limit the maximum amount that any one man shall own! If trusts and

monopolies spring up threatening to strangle free competition, pass a law against them! If crime becomes rampant, pass more stringent laws with heavier penalties! If trade languishes, pass a law to stimulate it by protective tariffs or subsidies! At the opposite extreme to these stand the champions of anarchy, who seem to believe that if only there be an utter abandonment of human laws social ills will disappear.

Midway between these two extremes stands the Single Taxer. He by no means believes in human law as a creator of social health. And yet he would by no means abandon its use. He sees in it a necessary instrument to be used in shunning the evils of social disorder.

Believing the root evil of most social disorder to be the private ownership of land, which upholds the individual in appropriating common property, which justifies the individual in absorbing values created by the community, and therefore belonging to all in the community, and which is the prolific generator of a whole race of iniquities, the Single Taxer cannot but insist that the first reform that should be undertaken is the shunning of this very evil.

It cannot be done by individuals acting separately. It must be done by the community acting as a whole. Let, then, our movement go on! Agitate and educate until the community shall by means of its laws "shun this evil as a sin against God."

L. E. WILMARTH.

A LESSON FROM SIERRA LEONE.

THE English government of Sierra Leone put a small tax on huts in order to make the natives contribute something toward the support of the government of the colony. The tax, however, was not a success, for when the assessor or collector was expected in any district the natives usually set fire to their huts and awaited the approach of the official housed under the shelter of a tree. When he arrived he was greeted with the words "no hut, no tax." As a means of causing such personal property as the natives possess to disappear the hut tax was as great a success as our personal property tax laws in this country are here.

SOCIETY AS A CHAIN.

SOME good people are over fond of measuring the advances which society has made by the conditions of life prevailing among its more favored members. They "point with pride" to the victories of invention, to the increase of aggregate wealth and, of course, to the many luxuries enjoyed by the poor man of today that were unknown even to the rich of generations back.

But such isolated facts, for such they are, do not furnish us with a true standard of social progress. The true standard of any civilization is not the conditions under which a part, even a large part, of its

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tions for the current year, and if possible to increase them. Mr. Crosby is doing a great deal of useful work, hard work at that, and his hands should be sustained.

In addition to the lecture bureau above mentioned the *Single Taxer* is also organizing a "Metropolitan Propaganda Bureau" for work within a radius of thirty miles from New York city hall. The plan includes:

1. The preparation of specialized Single Tax literature suitable for the various trades and occupations.
2. The securing of a fair hearing by the press of Single Tax arguments.
3. Combating misrepresentations of the Single Tax by the press.
4. Arranging lectures and debates for church organizations, &c., &c.
5. The organization of the volunteer workers of the district so as to cover the most ground at a minimum of labor and expense.

For further particulars apply to J. J. Murphy, 62-64 Trinity place, New York city.

AN interesting and exceedingly useful pamphlet entitled "The Great Problem of our Great Towns," has been published by *The Echo*, 22 Catherine street, Strand, W. C., and 19 Bride street, London, E. C., England. It is a reprint of articles which have appeared in that paper. The subject is discussed under the following heads: I. "Population and Land Values." II. "How London Improves its Landlord's Incomes." III. "Why we pay twice for Public Improvements." IV. "Health and Rent." V. "Enterprise and Thrift—in terms of Rent." VI. "The Landlord's Toll on Misery and Vice." VII. "What the London Landlord owes to Nature and the State." VIII. "Some Urban Monopolies considered." IX. "The Testimony of Experts." X. "The Landlord and the Rates." XI. "The Incidence of Local Taxation." XII. "The Practical Politics of the Urban Land Question."

In chapter VI is described a condition of affairs which is not without its sad parallel in every large city not only in Europe but in America. It shows that not only virtue but vice also pays high toll to the landlord; licentiousness no less than sobriety adds to his gains. He is a parasite feeding impartially on the industrious and the profligate.

In some districts of London, it is not so much the misfortunes as the vices of many of the inhabitants which contribute to the raising of rent. On the south side of the Thames, within a short distance of Waterloo-bridge, is an area which bears a very unsavory reputation. Its position, near a great railway station, and within very easy access of the busy Strand, gives it an "economic advantage" of a very sinister character. The ground-landlords are believed to be the Duchy of Cornwall and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, but the property—let on 99 years' leases, not expiring until somewhere about 1910, and containing no restrictive covenants against immoral uses—has been sub-leased to nobody knows whom,

and is usually let through agents. The area contains many disorderly houses, the keepers of which—subject to an occasional raid by the police, and a fine (often ridiculously small) by the magistrates—undoubtedly make great gains. It is not the only such district in London. Like the savings of the Woolwich Co-operators, the gains of the brothel-keeper pay their toll to the landlord. A vestryman of a West London parish told the present writer that "rents in this parish are very high indeed, because we have here such a large number of prostitutes. They flaunt about at every turn, and will pay almost fabulous rents to be able to get accommodation. Robberies of large amounts, sometimes to the tune of hundreds, have been frequently reported." He estimates the rents paid for houses used for immoral purposes at about three times their value for ordinary purposes. It is impossible to acquit the agents, and practically impossible to acquit the landlords, of a knowledge of the purposes for which these high rents are paid. One agent, asking a rent of £85 a year for a house in a notorious street, was told by the would-be tenant, a perfectly respectable man, that it was £30 or £40 a year more than the house was worth. "Yes," the agent is reported to have said, "but then we ask no questions." A careful inquiry leaves no doubt on the writer's mind that respectable citizens, compelled by business or other reasons to live in, say, Stamford street, are compelled to pay excessively high rents, because of the profitable uses to which the houses might be put if their tenants were less scrupulous. A householder in one such district complained of the excessive rent she was charged. It was impossible to occupy "respectably," even by taking in lodgers. She was significantly told to "do as they do at No. —, where they took in lodgers who were by no means 'respectable.'"... The duke of Westminster is, we believe, interested in the work of the National Vigilance Society. It would be interesting to work out the economic relation between the high rents which prevail on his Pimlico estate and the immorality which is believed to prevail in some parts of it.

Interesting truly the whole question of landlordism is, no less in its relation to immorality than in its relation to morality. It is one which will eventually command attention if only by reason of the terrible excess to which in time it must go if let alone.

This useful pamphlet can be obtained from the offices of *The Echo*. Price, 5s. 6d. per 100, carriage prepaid.

BRYAN ON TAXATION.

It is a most interesting fact to relate, and one exceedingly gratifying to all who recognize that the industrial warfare, depression of trade, and the general unlovely social condition that exists, are, if not produced, certainly fostered and intensified by false systems of taxation, that one who has been, and again expects to be, a presidential candidate should express his views on taxation in what is claimed to be the most widely circulated daily publication in the country. This William Jennings Bryan did in the Sunday edition of the *New York Journal* of recent date.

Mr. Bryan's paper is not a treatise, but a short statement in which he gives explicit and unqualified expression to his views on the subject of taxation, and cites facts and the opinions of others in support of his own conclusions.

Mr. Bryan's paper though short, as was said, is yet too long for reproduction in the *New Earth*. Only such portions, therefore, are quoted as contain its pith and marrow.

Mr. Bryan opens his paper with the following query:

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Is there any just rule for determining the proportion in which citizens should contribute to the support of the government?

And proceeds to answer it thus:

Adam Smith suggests a rule which must commend itself to every fair-minded person. He says "The subjects of every state ought to contribute to the support of the government as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective ability; that is, in proportion to the revenue they respectively enjoy under the protection of the state. In the observance or neglect of this rule consists what is called the equality or inequality of taxation."

Mr. Bryan endorses the above statement thus:

In other words, a direct tax upon incomes is the fairest tax that can be suggested. All taxes are really income taxes, because all taxes are paid out of income; but an indirect tax may work great injustice because its operations are concealed from the public view.

Then, too, a property tax does not reach those who enjoy a considerable income under the protection of the government and yet consume the income without investing in real and personal property. *The income tax reaches all.**

Here follow some of the opinions quoted by Mr. Bryan:

There never was so just a tax levied as the income tax. There is no objection that can be urged against the income tax that I cannot point to in every tax. Writers on political economy, as well as our own sentiments of what is right and just, teach us that a man ought to pay taxes according to his income and in no other way.

JOHN SHERMAN.

The income tax is, of all others, the most equitable, because it is the truest measure that has yet been found of the productive property of the country.

SENATOR MORTON, of Indiana.

There is not a tax on the books so little felt, so absolutely unfelt in the payment of it, as this income tax by the possessors of the great fortunes upon which it falls. There is not a poor man in this country, not a laborer in this country, but what contributes more than 3, more than 10, more than 20 per cent. of all his earnings to the treasury of the United States under those laws against which I am objecting. And now we are invited to increase their contributions and to release their trifling contributions which we have been receiving from incomes heretofore.†

SENATOR HOWE.

Mr. Bryan gives facts and figures bearing on the operations of the income tax in various countries of Europe, and also in the United States. But in every instance cited he shows that a large proportion of incomes are exempt from taxation, thus directly contradicting his own assertion, italicised above, that, *The income tax reaches all.* And further that such incomes as are taxed, are not taxed uniformly, but progressively, that is, the percentage of the income taken in taxation is greater as the income is greater.

According to Mr. Bryan's own showing the income tax is neither universal nor uniform in its operation. The incomes of the many poor are exempt, presumably because their incomes never stay in their possession long enough for the tax gatherer to lay his hands upon them, and because they possess no property worth seizing to pay the tax.

Is such a tax as this really the fairest that can be

* Italics mine.

† The above three opinions were expressed in debates on the income tax in the United States Senate a generation ago.

suggested, as Mr. Bryan asserts? If so, there is little hope that a more equitable distribution of wealth can be secured through taxation.

Then, too, Mr. Bryan seems to take it for granted that the State can under all and every circumstance ascertain the income of every individual. But all experience tends to show that this is impossible. The ways of preventing the state acquiring a correct knowledge of a man's income are too numerous to mention, and the possessors of the largest incomes have the greatest facilities for hoodwinking the assessors.

On the other hand there are certain incomes that cannot be hid; those of widows and orphans whose affairs the courts have cognizance of and jurisdiction over. In most cases the estates of such persons consist of bonds and mortgages or of property earning a low rate of interest. The incomes of such persons cannot be hid. A tax on such incomes would be a greater burden than a tax on some other incomes. Mr. Bryan, no doubt, thinks that the incomes of workmen (working farmers included) should be exempt from a direct tax, and if he should be called upon to frame an income tax law he would doubtless exempt all incomes under \$1,500. And further, that he might tax incomes of \$1,500 and up to \$2,500, two per cent.; and incomes of \$2,500 and up to \$5,000, five per cent., &c., &c. Such arbitrary discriminations are not equitable. Moreover, a tax on incomes is open to exactly the same objections so far as equity of collection is concerned as our present tax on personal property. It would be as easy to swear off a large proportion of one's income as is now done of one's personal property.

Mr. Bryan quotes approvingly John Sherman's words, "There is no objection that can be urged against the income tax that I cannot point to in every other tax." To which I may add, there is nothing objectionable in our present tax system which would not apply to an income tax. And also those by senator Howe, "There is not a tax . . . so absolutely unfelt . . . as this income tax by the possessors of the great fortunes upon which it falls." While these words were no doubt intended to be understood as favorable to a tax on income, yet, in reality, they embody a most serious objection to it.

It is a little disheartening that at present our choice for next chief executive should seem to lie between one who thinks he knows how to make the foreigner pay our taxes, and another who advocates a tax as an ideal one, which in all essential particulars is open to every objection that he has brought against our present system.

JOHN FILMER.

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—Jane Dearborn Mills.

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Devoted to the study and illustration of Social Problems on Moral and Religious Grounds

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FOR PUBLIC PURPOSES IN LIEU OF THE TAXES THAT NOW OPPRESS LA-
BOR AND CAPITAL AND RESTRICT THEIR PRODUCTIVE EMPLOYMENT.

IN our address "To our readers" last month we advanced the proposition, which indeed is an almost self-evident truth, that the better side of human nature, the side of him which lifts man above mere animalism and materialism, which enables him to transcend mere self-seeking and to find his highest delight in ministering to the welfare of others, requires for its orderly growth and development, social and material conditions which shall parallel, correspond to or embody this better side of us. We maintained that it was as irrational on the part of sincere religious-minded people to expect the graces of the spirit to flourish in social conditions which bear no relation to these graces save that of inveterate antagonism to them as it would be on the part of a farmer to expect a crop of wheat from seed sown on the sand of a rainless desert. Social conditions are, of course, no more the *cause* of the higher life of man, than fertile ground is the *cause* of the crop. They are simply the soil in which the higher life can germinate and be nursed to maturity. The cause in the one case is within man himself, as in the other it is within the seed; in both cases it is the creative energy.

But man, both as an individual and as a race, is at first unconscious of this better nature of his, as well

as of the kind of life of which it is capable, and through which it must eventually express itself. He becomes conscious of this part of himself by degrees, one step at a time. This process is called evolution. But all evolution necessitates a corresponding previous involution. No plant can grow, or be evolved, from a seed unless the germ of the plant first exist within the seed. So in the case of mankind, no advance in social development is possible unless the germ of better social conditions be within man himself.

Of this germ within it mankind becomes conscious slowly and as the years and ages roll by. It first takes the form of aspirations, and longings and hopes for gentler, humaner and juster relations between men, and of clearer and ever clearer perceptions in respect to the character of the Creator and His relations to His creatures. But these aspirations and perceptions must ever remain as dreams more than any thing else, and even then be confined to a few, until they become sensibly imaged or embodied in corresponding social conditions.

That society as at present organized bears true relation neither to our best aspirations nor to the conceptions of the character of the Creator entertained by every intelligent mind needs no showing. That our Creator and source of life should be a respecter of persons, that He should consider some of His creatures as more fitting objects of His regard than others, that He should provide for the eternal progress of some and leave that of others unprovided for, is a conception of Him utterly discarded by every man today whose mental growth has gone beyond that of the dark ages. But such gross conception of the Creator is just that of which organized society at this day is an embodiment. The kind of ownership of the natural opportunities with which we invest some among us is a representative picture of a conception of the Creator that makes Him a capricious, unjust monarch, granting privileges to a few favorites, and venting His spleen on all others. This is the only kind of conception of His character possible to the great mass of human beings as long as such conditions exist. Preach as we may, institute revivals of religion as we may, no other conception of the Creator can germinate, bear fruit and be a reality among us than this pagan and savage one.

Anonymous
Mar. 1, 1948

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To every honest holder of the more enlightened conceptions of the character of the Creator, then, the questions at once present themselves: What are the principles which society must recognize in order that social and material conditions may fittingly reflect these conceptions; and what can I do to bring about these conditions? True belief, especially on a subject of this kind, must lead to action. The self-satisfaction of entertaining more enlightened convictions than others, and being content with that, is the most hideous form of unbelief.

The answer to these questions is not hard to discover. Organized society, in order that it make any approach to the conditions required of it as a soil in which may flourish true ideas of spiritual life must recognize the equal right of all its members in the bounties of nature and the opportunities offered by the general advance of civilization. It must find means jealously to protect these rights amid all the changing and more and more complex conditions which every progressing body of people must experience.

We, now, unhesitatingly assert that only by building upon the Single Tax ideal can these rights be maintained. In no other way can any real equality of opportunity be assured to every one. When the rental value of land, and nothing but that, is taken through taxation and spent for public needs, opportunities for making a living become open to all more equally than would be possible under any artificially devised scheme of government control. The Single Tax would do the work automatically, and without the friction and consequent waste of power involved in any direct control and allotment of opportunities by the government.

The Single Tax would, moreover, provide another requirement of orderly social conditions. It would make every man work out his own material salvation, and so embody to us the truth that every man must work out his own spiritual salvation. Under the Single Tax there would be no royal road to the acquisition of material wealth, even as there is no royal road to the acquisition of mental wealth or of spiritual riches.

THE conference held in Glasgow, October 20, to promote the taxation of land values was evidently successful in every respect, and reflects great credit on those who had devoted both time and money in arranging for it. Twenty-eight co-operative societies sent representatives.

It should be borne in mind that while this was not a Single Tax conference it was the most marked step in that direction as yet taken by any largely representative body.

The following resolutions were passed practically unanimously:

That this conference is of opinion that as the values of land are not due to individual exertion, but spring from common need and activity, and are enhanced by public expenditure, the present system which exempts these values from taxation, and imposes the burden on industry and the earnings of industry, is unjust, and constitutes a hindrance to social progress.

That to secure an equitable system of taxation, it is necessary (a) that a separate valuation should be made of land, apart from improvements; and (b) that a direct tax should be placed on the values of land thus assessed.

Mr. Joseph Hyder, of the Land Nationalization society, moved the following addition to the resolution:

And (c) in order to prevent under-assessment, that the rating authority should have the power to acquire the land at the landlord's own valuation in cases where it may consider that that valuation is unfairly low.

This amendment was defeated by a large majority.

This conference heartily approves of the bill promoted by the corporation of Glasgow, to obtain for burghs in Scotland the power to tax land values, but considers that the principle of the bill is equally applicable to all parts of the country, and therefore urges all other local rating authorities (not included in the scope of the bill) to petition parliament for similar powers.

We reprint in another column the editorial remarks of *The Single Tax*, Glasgow, giving further particulars.

A largely attended public meeting in connection with the conference was held in the evening in the city hall, at which the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

That this meeting is of opinion that the values of land are not due to individual exertion, but spring from common need and activity, and are enhanced by public expenditure, the present system which exempts these values from taxation and imposes the burden on industry and the earnings of industry is unjust, and constitute a hindrance to social progress. That to secure a just and equitable system of taxation, it is necessary (a) That a separate valuation should be made of land, apart from improvements; and (b) that a direct tax should be placed on the values of land thus assessed.

It is a matter of interest to note that the next lord provost (mayor) of Glasgow will be Samuel Chisholm a Single Taxer.

The lord provost, magistrates and town council of Glasgow entertained the delegates to the conference in the municipal buildings, on the evening of Thursday, October 19. We understand that, including the delegates, about 1,800 ladies and gentlemen were present. It appears to have been a brilliant gathering.

THE Glasgow, Scotland, Worker's Municipal Election committee, in its appeal to the public to support its candidates and platform, says:

First of these in importance is the taxation and appropriation of land values for the benefit of the community. We need this reform to enable us to unlock the gates which bar access to the land. . . . There is a strong party already in the council, composed of representatives of all classes, which favors this reform. Once passed, it will force into the market a vast amount of unoccupied land. . . .

REFERRING to the Glasgow conference for the taxation of land values for local purposes, engineered by Single Taxers, *Land and Labour*, the organ of the Land Nationalization society of Great Britain, funnily says:

THE NEW EARTH

It was not a revolutionary assembly. Some had come with orders to watch, and not vote, and they will be able to report that it is not a Single Tax movement, as they might have feared, but a reasonable agitation simply for the assessment of land values for public purposes; so reasonable that the resolutions were carried practically *nem. con.*, and it is as well for the ardent advocates of the Single Tax gospel to remember that the undoubted success of this conference cannot be taken to imply that the country is rapidly getting ripe for dealing in a drastic way by progressive taxation with the whole landlord system. But it does show that men are at last beginning to open their eyes to the stupidity of allowing industry to be taxed while monopoly goes free; and that is so much to the good.

PROFESSOR George D. Herron, who has filled the chair of Applied Christianity in Iowa college, which chair was specially endowed for him, and which he has filled for more than six years, has voluntarily tendered his resignation to the trustees. In his letter of resignation he says:

As college education is now organized, however, I question any man's right to teach that which the college constituency does not want. He may as an individual teach the people who care to hear him, but not as a member of an educational institution which he does not represent. In any case, I am as sure of the right of men of wealth, and of conservative political and religious opinions, not to want me here, as I am of my right to want to stay. And though I cannot remain in Iowa college in peace, I leave it in peace, and my deepest love will abide with it. In whatever ways I may serve the college without injury, I trust I may be permitted to do so. I want to be counted as a devoted and abiding friend and defender of the college into which I have put no little of my life, and in which I have spoken words that are blood-red with conviction and suffering.

This resignation is but one more sign of the gradual sifting out that is taking place around us. The democratic and plutocratic forces are each taking their respective positions preparatory to the struggle that must inevitably take place.

LYING AND LIARS.

"AND pray what are you doing, my neighbor, with your front door?"

"Lying! playing the liar!" some people would say: perpetrating a lie; making common pine look like rosewood! You know that's my occupation."

"Artistic graining, isn't it? You would hardly call that lying. Would you?"

"It seems to me, neighbor, that that depends upon what you think constitutes a lie. Some people insist that any untruth uttered or acted with the intent to deceive is a lie. If that be so why am not I, a wood grainer, a liar by trade?"

"It may be true that you are perpetrating a false statement in paint, but your intention is not—"

"But my intention is to deceive. I am perpetrating a false statement with the deliberate intent to deceive. I'll promise you when I've finished rubbing down my fifth coat of varnish that the keenest observer will have to saw into that door to be sure it isn't the real wood. If I didn't have this skill to deceive I should be only a bungler, and earn more contempt than wages."

"Still a sound judgment cannot but recoil from classing your trade in the category of lying."

"It cannot be denied, however, that mine is a trade dealing in untruths, and untruth is the stuff lies are made of."

"But is it the untruth that makes the lie? That's the question. Granting that all lies are made of untruths does that prove that all untruths are lies? The mother's ditty to the child, The cow jumped over the moon; the giggling girl's 'I thought I should die;' the average man's misuse of adjectives, are they not all untruths? And yet only a judgment in an advanced stage of hysteria would pronounce them lies. Even the grossest falsehood, fraught, it may be, with fatal consequences, if told through mistake, or ignorance, is purged of all taint of lying."

"Certainly! It is the intent to deceive that makes the lie. I acknowledge that. And it is just because I find in the character of my work this intent to deceive that I get floored in every wrestling match with this question. Look at these panels here; manufactured of pressed paper. Every body thinks they are hand carved. The deception is perfect. Nobody would believe there isn't a bit of wood or hand work about them. Now why is not this untruth, coupled with deception, a lie? Perhaps not as black a lie as swearing away an enemy's life. But why is it not a light colored lie?"

"Better ask, *When* is it made the expression of a lie and when not. I am inclined to think that the coloring matter, the black pigment, so to speak, that characterizes a lie is quite underneath the mere cuticle of falsehood and deception embedded in the deeper seated layer of motive; in the purpose that controls the intent to deceive."

"All lies are undoubtedly intentions to deceive. But I see you would question whether all intentions to deceive are lies."

"Precisely. An artificial eye is the very embodiment of an intention to deceive. And yet to pronounce the wearer of a false eye an habitual liar would be to ignore all healthy discrimination. The same is true in regard to careful dressing to conceal deformities."

"Ah, yes; but just where is the line to be drawn and how? Take my own case. Besides graining my front door I am going to paint and sand the tin cornice to imitate stone, and make the front of my house look like faced brick. Now on which side of your finely drawn lie-line am I located?"

"Perhaps on the wrong side; perhaps on the right. That will depend upon your actuating motive; upon the character of the purpose that controls your intent to deceive. If your real motive is to palm off this house upon an unwary purchaser for something that it is not, then I should say that you were generating an elaborate lie. But if, on the contrary, your real motive is to improve the appearance of your property and the

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neighborhood and thus minister to everyone's healthy enjoyment of the beautiful then is your action free from the slightest taint of lying. The essential element of the lie is lacking."

"What do you consider the essential element of a lie?"

"It seems to me that the essential element of a lie is the willful inflicting of injury. Where, in the motive, there is no desire to inflict injury, no willingness to infringe the right of others, there will be no lying; there can be no liar. Take, for instance, a dentist inserting false teeth to improve one's appearance and contrast with the horse dealer falsifying the teeth of his animals. The intent to deceive characterizes the work of both these men. Yet the motive of the one is clean, while the motive of the other is lie-stained, soaked through and through with a willingness to violate the just right of his customer to know the true age of the horse he purchases."

"It is quite plain that the one is lying and the other is not. But take a very familiar illustration. How is it with the bank cashier who gives the threatening burglar a false combination for the vault-lock? Is he lying?"

"Emphatically no. His motive is clean. For certainly an effort to prevent a man from committing robbery does not indicate desire to injure him. And moreover the burglar has no rights there which the cashier is bound to respect."

"And yet the cashier tells a deliberate falsehood. It looks, at first glance, like lying, doesn't it? May be it can be classed as a sort of a ghost of a lie."

"Hardly the ghost of a lie, for the very spirit of the lie is not there. I should sooner call it the empty skin of a lie. But if, however, that same cashier, to gain time to escape arrest for his misdeeds, should give a false combination to his suspecting directors, that would be a living, wriggling 'varmint,' black and slimy. In the first case he would be defending the rights of his institution, and in the second case he would be violating them."

"In short, you locate the lie in the motive, and not in the utterance. And of course you would say that the lady sending word by her servant that she is 'out' is not telling a real lie. You might perhaps say that she was only clothing her manners in a lie-skin."

"And parenthetically suggest that lie-skins of that kind, however harmless, are far from comely. But even that again will depend on whether the person inquiring has a just right to know the truth. If that be the case the lady's: not at home, will be a crawling lie."

"And now the physician, at the very time he fears the worst, assuring the patient that he is recovering. Is that lying?"

"That again will depend upon the rights of the patient. If a knowledge of danger is thought likely to diminish the chances of recovery, then the blankest

misstatements of his own opinion that the doctor may utter will not be lying. For a patient has a just right to the best services of his physician. But then again; if the patient should demand to know the worst in order, for instance, to arrange matters of importance, then to deny the full gravity of his condition would be black lying indeed."

"In short, according to your way of thinking the venom-sack of the lie is located in the motive, and the venom consists of desire to injure others."

"Yes. And the poison still is a lax willingness to violate the rights of others. To me it is evident that the very spawning place of lies, the generating source of all false witness against the neighbor is man's native proneness (while in pursuit of his own ends) to disregard the equal rights of others."

L. E. WILMARTH.

THE TEACHER AND TWO OF HIS DISCIPLES.

THERE are few criminals, very few criminals, who reform—not one in a hundred. A man, of course, may commit any grave offence against the laws of society through heat of passion, through exigence of circumstances, through mistake. With him my theory does not deal. But the man who has offended twice, I would chloroform him.

Is it right that men should allow him to live, to have offspring and bequeath to them the hereditary tendency to infringe upon the rights of others?

I would chloroform these confirmed criminals. The guillotine is too bloody, hanging is too violent, electrocution is too uncertain and too expensive.—*The Rev. Cyrus F. Wixon to the Chautauqua Circle of the Trinity Methodist Church, at Newburg, in New York Journal.*

It is hard to believe that such an utterance as the above comes from a professed follower of Him who saith: "I say not unto thee, Until seven times; but, Until seventy times seven." And who also saith: "Joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance."

Contrast the conclusions of Mr. Wixon with the following from Henry George:

How vainly shall we endeavor to repress crime by our barbarous punishment of the poorer class of criminals so long as children are reared in the brutalizing influences of poverty; so long as the bite of want drives men to crime.

We might all have so much of the material things we now struggle for, that no one would want to rob or swindle his neighbor.

M. CEBELIA HOLLISTER.

A CHRISTMAS KINDERGARTEN STORY.

ONCE there was a very rich king who owned all the land in the country; so when people wanted to build a house or plant a garden they had to pay the king before they could use the land. Sometimes they had to pay him so much that it took nearly all they could earn, and many of the people were very poor. Some of them were so poor that sometimes they used to steal and quarrel with each other, and sometimes they were put in jail.

The king was very sad and unhappy when the people were so bad and unkind to each other. He wanted his people to be good, and he wanted them to be

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happy, and tried every way he could think of to make them so. On Christmas and at holiday times he would give them dinners and new clothes; but the next day they were without dinner, and clothes soon wore out. So the poor king was in a dreadful way, he wanted to make his people happy, but didn't know how.

One Christmas time he was wondering what he could do for them, when he happened to think that perhaps Santa Claus would tell him what to do, for Santa Claus knew the people well and knew just what they wanted.

So the next day the king went to see Santa Claus, and asked him to tell what could be done to make the people happy. Santa Claus said, "Well, if you like you can go around with me and help give out the presents, and then you can see what the people need."

So on Christmas eve the king went to Santa Claus, and helped load up his sleigh; and when it was time they both got into the sleigh, and Santa Claus whistled to his reindeer and off they went.

As they were going along the road Santa Claus said, "The first place we stop at is the little white house just over the hill. A little old woman lives there who always makes lots of mittens for me to give to the children. So when they reached the house Santa Claus jumped out of the sleigh and asked the king to go in and get acquainted with the old lady who did so much for the children. She saw them coming and opened the door for them, and as Santa Claus went in rubbing his hands in his bustling fashion, he said, "Well, my friend, I hope you have lots of mittens for me this year, for I think it is going to be a very cold winter, and you know we don't want Jack Frost to pinch the children's fingers."

The old woman looked very sad and shook her head slowly as she looked out of the window at the pile of snow, and said: "I am very sorry, but I have only a few pair of mittens for you this year."

"O, my, my!" said Santa Claus, "what have you been doing? Did you think the children would not need them?"

"No," said the old woman, "I had plenty of time and would have been glad to knit the mittens, but you see the king owns all the land and we had to pay so much for the pasture that we could only have a very few sheep; so of course we only got a little wool—only enough for these few mittens."

"Well, well," said Santa Claus, "this is too bad. I had intended to give all the children new mittens this Christmas. Now their mothers will have to mend their old ones, and some of them will have to go without."

"Come along," he said to the king; and they hurried back to the sleigh. "The next place we stop at is down by the bridge. There is a man living there who always gathers lots of nuts and fruit for me."

When they reached the place Santa Claus was just getting out some bags to put the nuts and fruit in when the man came along and said: "O you need not get out so many bags; I haven't very much for you this year."

"How is that?" said Santa Claus, looking very angry at the man.

"Well, you know," he said, "the king owns all the land and the trees, and it took so much of what we gathered to pay him that we had very little left."

"Come, give me what you have," said Santa Claus, and he hurried into the house leaving the king sitting in the sleigh, wondering why it was that all these people complained that they could not work because they did not have the land. Did every thing come from the land?

When the bags of fruit and nuts were loaded into the sleigh they started off with a dash, stopping here and there to trim Christmas trees and fill stockings that would surprise the children the next morning.

Once as they turned a corner into a dark street they almost ran over a little boy who was just running across with a basket on his arm. Santa Claus was so surprised that he called out in a sharp voice, "What are you doing here? A little chap like you ought to be in bed at this time of night." The poor child was so cold and tired that he began to cry, and said, "'Cause my little sister is sick and we haven't any fire in our house; and I was picking coal and cinders out of ash barrels, and got so far away that it took me a long time to get home."

"Haven't you a father?" asked the jolly old man.

"Yes," said the boy, "I have."

"Well, why doesn't he work and buy some coal?" asked the king, with an angry look on his face.

"Please, mister," said the child, "he used to work in the coal mines, but the man who owns the mines said they did not need to dig any more coal because every body had enough, and there was lots piled up in the yard; so they sent him home, and he has not worked for a long time."

Santa Claus and the king looked at each other, and then the king said, "You go on with your work, and I will give this little chap some coal."

Then the king took the boy by the hand and started for the coal yard and told the man to send a load of coal to the boy's house just as soon as he could.

"Well, who is to pay for it?" said the man, hesitating, as he looked at the ragged little boy.

"Pay for it?" said the king; "why, these poor people haven't any fire in their house this cold weather, and didn't God put the coal in the ground for every one?"

"I suppose he did," said the man; "but you know the king owns the land and so he owns the coal that is in it."

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"Well, but the king did not make either the land or the coal; and he did not dig it out of the ground; and this little boy's father has been digging coal for years, yet he has none to burn."

"Because he was digging it for the king," said the man.

"Well, I am the king; and I tell you to send him all the coal he needs."

The man at the desk looked surprised, but took down the order. The king bade the little boy good bye, and said he would see him the next day.

As the king went home he said to himself, "It seems to me that what the people most need is the land. They cannot have good warm clothes because I own the land, and they have no pasture for their sheep from which they get the wool. They cannot gather the fruit and nuts that grow in the woods because I own the trees. They cannot have coal because I own the coal fields. It seems they have to pay me to let them get the things out of the ground where God put them for every one. It is not right," said the king to himself; "and tomorrow, Christmas day, I will tell the people that the land is their's to use. Then the coal a man digs will be his, and the sheep he raises or the garden he plants will be his, to do with as he likes. Then no one need be poor unless he is lazy."

So the next day the king told the people they could have all the land they wanted to use. And by the time Christmas came round again every one wanted to play Santa Claus and give the king a present because they were so glad he had given them a chance to get the things they needed.

JENNIE A. ROGERS.

THE GLASGOW CONFERENCE.

THE conference to promote the taxation of land values, held in the Trades' House, Glasgow, on the 20th of last month, marked an epoch in the history of the movement in Britain. To begin with, the corporation of Glasgow, by a vote of 36 to 16, decided to join in promoting the conference, while Lord Carrington and 54 members of parliament gave their names as approving of the conference being held. In response to the invitation circular 557 delegates were appointed to attend; 216 of these were from local rating authorities, town, county, district, and parish councils, poor-law unions and vestries.

The large hall of the Trades' House was packed when ex-bailie Burt, J. P., Glasgow, took the chair at 10.30 A. M., at the most magnificent demonstration of representative men yet held in Britain in favor of the taxation of land values. The delegates were appointed from as far south as Devonport; and from as far north as Stornoway. With few exceptions they came in thorough sympathy with the object of the conference, and prepared to carry the resolutions proposed by the committee. The small group of socialists who were

present, representing various bodies, tried as usual on such occasions to persuade the meeting to adopt their peculiar "advanced" conservative notion of taxing capital as well as land values, but it was useless. Fifteen votes were all they could secure, and several at least of these were given by delegates from other than socialist circles, though with the same confused ideas on the subject. The socialist amendment lost, the first resolution affirming the principle was carried with acclamation. On the second resolution, Mr. Hyder, of the Land Nationalization society, in a concise, taking manner, moved an amendment asking that powers be given local authorities to acquire land, by purchase. Mr. Verinder, of the English Land Restoration league, objected to this in a neat, forcible, argumentative seven minutes speech. Mr. Hyder's amendment got three votes. The resolution was thereafter unanimously adopted. The third resolution, moved by councillor John Ferguson, Glasgow, was also, after an interesting number of speeches, carried unanimously.

It was positively amazing and encouraging to find how well-informed the meeting was on the question. It caught right away the spirit and full meaning of the president's pronouncement in his opening address, that taxation was a payment for services rendered; and that a man should pay, not according to his ability, but according to the value of the advantages the community conferred upon him. "This," said the president, amid responsive cheers, "would always be found in the value of the land he occupied." Everyone agreed that Mr. Burt had struck the right keynote; and speaker after speaker, all the day long, drove home with telling facts and figures the injustice of exempting land values from taxation, many of them showing clearly the terrible evils of the consequent speculation in land.

Every illustration given from particular districts of the evils of land monopoly was duly noted; and every argument advanced in favor of overthrowing this obnoxious barrier to material progress was enthusiastically cheered.

The delegates who spoke from the rating authorities were most pronounced and emphatic for reduced rates, and access to land; and they had the faith that the taxation of land values was the one remedy for both. Scarcely one delegate needed conversion to the expressed object of the conference. Some there were who asked for more light as to details, but on principle they had come, with the exception of the few socialists, almost unanimously prepared to carry the three resolutions proposed by the committee. This was the purpose of their meeting, and they gave effect to it in a way that demonstrated at once the dignity and strength of the movement in Britain for the taxation of land values.

The whole proceedings in connection with this conference from first to last has clearly shown that the question of taxing land values is now regarded ser-

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iously by the best part of those who are active in the progressive camp; and that even in more conservative circles it is winning its way as a just and necessary measure of reform of primary importance. These people are informed on the question; they know full well what its realization means, and they will strive for it, imbued and inspired by the knowledge and conviction that in this simple, yet far-reaching reform, lies the way to real and lasting municipal progress, and to the peace and happiness of mankind.

This is the faith of those who are with us. Not the mere sordid consideration of securing for the community so much money to pay the rates and taxes, but the power to overthrow this bottom blighting land monopoly. Truly those who stand for the taxation of land values in Britain live in their own day. They are bound to win. Every day brings proof of the fact that they are winning; and this conference stands out in bold relief a prominent landmark on the way to parliamentary legislation on the subject.

—*The Single Tax, Glasgow.*

New Publications.

THINGS AS THEY ARE

is the title of a new book by Bolton Hall. Published by Small, Maynard & Company, No. 6 Beacon street, Boston. Price, \$1.25.

The dedication reads, "To Walter L. Sinton, Teacher of Righteousness, whose letters formed the basis of this book."

The first half of the book contains a series of short essays in which the author, while mounting the extreme heights of spiritual thought, forsakes not the service of the humblest dweller in the plain. The other half is given over to Mr. Hall's favorite method of teaching by fable.

We have only good words for this book. A friend of ours has aptly characterized it as a protest against grovelling wrong, a prayer for exalted righteousness, and a psalm of the new evangel of love.

No better endorsement could be desired than that contained in the introduction by professor George D. Herron, from which *The New Earth* has already published extracts. Professor Herron writes, "The exposition of the law of love, at the end of the letters reads like a new epistle from St. John."

We quote below two of its characteristic fables:

GRIEF AND THE END OF GRIEF.

HE knew injustice had been done. The world looks very dark when one is only six, and injustice has been done.

Therefore he rested his curly head upon his chubby hands, just as once he saw his mother do. He shook with sobs, and the tears ran down his little nose and fell upon the dusty ground. And in the dust they made a dark round hole, just like the evil world. But overhead the light clouds drifted and the bright sun shone.

A little ant toiled through the hills of sand; and, when it reached the tear-wet spot, its burden slipped into the hole.

The ant rolled after it; and a tiny dusty land-slide followed it.

The child had pity on the ant, and got a little straw to help it out. He brushed the sand into the hole; and the insect took its burden up again, and walked its rugged way.

The sun dried up the tear-wet dust. The child's sobs ceased, for he was comforted; and he looked up and saw the sun.

The world looks very bright when one is only six, and kindness has been done.

A VISIONARY.

The interpreter took me by the hand and led me into a cave, across the mouth of which was a great gully; and one standing on the hither side of the gully was building with bridge planks. But because he could not reach the further side he built the frame of the bridge straight up toward heaven.

Then said I, "Why does he build in the air, for in that manner he can never span the gulf?"

The interpreter answered, "Wait and see." And I saw that the man climbed to the top of his framework; and, because he greatly desired to span the gulf, he built out on the side which was toward the opposite bank. When he had builded thus for a long time, the weight of the timbers overbalanced the frame work, so that it fell across the gulf; and it was a bridge for all men to walk upon.

Then said I, "What means this?" The interpreter replied: "He whom you saw is an idealist, who seems to arrive at nothing, so that men say he is impractical; yet is his mind fixed upon making an advance. Now, when he finds no way of going forward, he aspires to go higher. In the fulness of time his desire creates a way, and the bridge overbalances, so that it spans the chasm."

I asked of him, "But what of the man?" Then answered the interpreter: "His body was crushed in the overturn. Nevertheless he built the bridge, and went over it, 'Yea,' saith the spirit, 'for they rest from their labors, and their works do follow them.'"

IN vain, in gorgeous churches, on the appointed Sunday, is the parable of Dives and Lazarus read. What can it mean in churches where Dives would be welcomed and Lazarus shown the door? In vain may the preacher preach of the vanity of riches, while poverty engulphs the hindmost. But the mad struggle would cease when the fear of poverty has vanished. Then, and not till then, will a truly Christian civilization become possible.

—*Henry George, in Social Problems.*

COMPTROLLER Coler of this city, in an address before the People's Institute at Cooper Union, referring to the advisability of a municipality providing its public utilities, and to the fact that the cities in this state are enjoined by law from incurring debts beyond a certain percentage of the assessed valuation, said:

To adhere slavishly to the fetich of a constitutional provision in the light of such a showing as this is to shut the door of fate in the face of our city's future. If New York city is to occupy the position of commercial supremacy to which its past history and its natural advantages entitle it, we must reason about these matters like intelligent adults, and not like children still enmeshed in the prejudices of early teaching.

The constitution should be amended so as to exempt from the limitation on the indebtedness of cities, bonds issued to provide for improvements, which, while governmental in their character, are, nevertheless, essentially business enterprises, and from the operation of which profits can be derived sufficient to provide a speedy amortization of the indebtedness temporarily incurred.

HENRY GEORGE'S teaching in a nutshell: To deprive men of the power to take what belongs to others.

—*Beacon, Australia.*

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New flesh tissue must be built. New strength must be found, and all this with the least exertion on the part of the patient.

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Devoted to the study and illustration of Social Problems on Moral and Religious Grounds

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WE DEMAND

THE OPENING OF ALL NATURAL OPPORTUNITIES TO LABOR AND CAPITAL,
SO THAT BOTH MAY BE FULLY AND CONSTANTLY EMPLOYED AND RE-
CEIVE THEIR FULL EARNINGS.

TO EFFECT THIS,

WE WOULD TAKE THROUGH TAXATION THE RENTAL VALUE OF LAND, COM-
PLETELY EXEMPTING IMPROVEMENTS, AND WOULD USE THIS REVENUE
FOR PUBLIC PURPOSES IN LIEU OF THE TAXES THAT NOW OPPRESS LA-
BOR AND CAPITAL AND RESTRICT THEIR PRODUCTIVE EMPLOYMENT.

NOTWITHSTANDING the work of the peace congress that a few months ago completed its labors at the Hague; notwithstanding the fact that the holding of that congress marked a real step forward in the direction of peace among civilized nations; we, nevertheless, today seem as far off from this great desideratum as ever. It would seem as if each generation of men must experience in some form or other the horrors of war. Or, as the governor of this state, perhaps, would put it, each generation is called upon to answer some call to a "strenuous" life. The pity of it is that war seems to be the only kind of "strenuousness" we are able heartily to appreciate. Be this as it may, during the past two years we have had a liberal supply of the incidents and horrors of war served up to us daily by the press.

It is true that the horrors of war, as exemplified in the late struggle with Spain and in the one now going on in South Africa, have not come home to the people of this country with the force with which those accompanying the civil war of a generation ago did. But they have come home to the people immediately affected by them with full force, and have been impressive enough to us here to arouse in us—each according

to his standpoint—feelings of detestation for one combatant and sympathy for the other, or of pity for both either as sufferers for the sins of mankind or as unconscious martyrs in the cause of human progress.

But with all its horrors—horrors from which every humane mind turns with heart-sickness—war between nations is not war in its most destructive form. It is war only in its most superficial, and for that reason its most readily recognized form. But its evil effects rarely reach much beyond those immediately affected by the struggle. They do not, as a rule, extend themselves far into the succeeding generation. For just as Mother Earth draws into her bosom the blood spilt upon the battlefield, and in a few months covers up all traces of the strife with her mantle of green, so, too, is the memory and bitterness of many a fierce fight forgotten in the new conditions to which it has given rise. In this our day it is war today and peace tomorrow; and if it have been a fight to the finish its results are accepted by both combatants, and they set themselves to work to build again upon the new foundation thus laid.

But there is a kind of war now and always going on all over the civilized world, whose effects are more disastrous, more heart-rending, more far-reaching and more lasting than those of war between nations. This is industrial war.

Industrial war is war between men of the same nation, often of the same household. It kills, wounds, cripples, and disables thousands, where the bayonet and rifle and cannon kill hundreds. It destroys millions by slow starvation, a process compared with which death on the battlefield is merciful. It desolates homes that the bullet never reaches. It demoralizes every one who takes part in the struggle—and who but parasite can avoid taking part? A less humane code of honor prevails in industrial war than in a fight between armies. The weak ones are unmercifully crushed in it. It causes one man to look with inward satisfaction on the mistakes, the shortcomings, the downfall of another, in order that he may have his place. It makes him, at times, even seek to compass these ends, so pressing are his own needs.

Industrial war sends its rankling sores deeper even than this. It embitters every relation of human life; poisons men's most generous impulses, making them

Anonymous
Mar. 1, 1946

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often ministers of evil rather than of good. It keeps us all, rich and poor alike, in a state of abject slavery, suffocating if not destroying every aspiration for true freedom.

That the members of our industrial system are at war with each other is evidenced by the existence of labor organizations. These organizations proclaim a state of war. They drill their armies and collect war's sinews. They act not merely on the defensive, but as must needs be in war, take the offensive as well. And the saddest part of all this is that such organizations, as represented by their leaders, look upon industrial war as a normal condition of civilized and productive industry. Between employer and employed they seem to think there must always be antagonism, and never so much as dream that it is in their power to end at once and for all time this state of war.

That our industrial life is carried on in a state of war is still further evidenced by the multiplicity of our charity organizations. What are these organizations but Red Cross societies? What is their object but to provide, maintain, and conduct field-hospitals; to care for and nurse those that fall in this mad struggle for a living?

And this sore war, too, must be fought to a finish. But the finish will not be the triumph of one set of human combatants over the other. It will be the triumph of truth over error, of knowledge over ignorance. For as the poverty of the poor is their undoing, so is the ignorance and blindness of man the sole cause and support of all the horrors of industrial war.

Let but the mists of ignorance and error which obscure our perceptions of common justice be dispelled and this war will cease. Let men but see that to deny any man an equal right to God's natural bounties is to contravene the plainest principles of common justice, and the need for labor organizations and charitable societies will end. And as the Single Tax is the only method by which these natural and equal rights of all men can be secured, the day in which it is inaugurated as the fundamental principle of associate industrial life will be the day in which a true peace will be proclaimed in the world, and war will be no more.

LYING AND LIARS AGAIN.

Mother (to Fritz, who is being photographed for the first time)—“Don't cry so, Fritz! Nothing will hurt you, and it'll only take a minute!”

Fritz—Yes, but that's just what you told me when we were at the dentist's!”—*Unsere Gesellschaft*.

MY DEAR MR. WILMARTH:

According to your thesis this was not a lie.

BOLTON HALL.

On the contrary; according to the line of reasoning in the article “Lying and Liars” in the December numbers of *The New Earth* this would be a lie, unmistakably. An untruth uttered to deceive the child as to the pain it was to suffer at the dentist's hands is a

harmful infringement of the child's right to the best ministration in the power of the parent. It has all the essential characteristics of a lie.

As to the motive of the mother which will determine to what degree she is a liar, it need not be shown that she was animated by a positive desire to harm her child. The milder forms of lying spring oftener from a careless indifference to the rights of others than from actual malicious intent. The last sentence of the article reads:

To me it is evident that the very spawning place of lies, the generating source of all false witness against the neighbor is in man's native proneness (while in pursuit of his own ends) to disregard the equal rights of others.

The mother had her end to accomplish. And to avoid the exertion and bother of stating the truth to the child and appealing to the courage and fortitude of his better nature, she ignored the child's rights and chose the shorter cut of lying to him, quite indifferent to the effect upon the child of actual increase in the pain suffered and the generating of a lasting doubt of the mother's truthfulness.

L. E. WILMARTH.

CIVILIZATION, MORALITY, DIVIDENDS AND WAGES.

AT a meeting of the Consolidated Goldfields Co., held recently in London, Mr. Hays Hammond, the American engineer, said that after the close of the war now in progress in South Africa, he hoped to be able to pay as dividends to the stockholders of the company about £2,200,000, an increase of forty-five per cent., which he thought would be “large enough.”

How Mr. Hammond expects to distribute so large an amount among the stockholders of the company he represents may be inferred from remarks reported in the *London Star*, which we quote:

There are in South Africa millions of Kaffirs and it does seem preposterous that we are not able to obtain 70,000 or 80,000 Kaffirs to work upon the mines.

Our companies have had to pay from £1,500 to £3,000 a month for boys. These boys would stay only for a few weeks and then be off again, when the touts would collect them and re-engage them to other mines. Now, simply to procure the boys, and most inefficient boys at that—*merely children in most instances*—and nothing, so far as efficiency is concerned, comparable to the natives working at Kimberly, has cost us, quite apart from wages, from 1s. to 2s. 6d. per ton—not per ton of natives but per ton of ore crushed.

With good government there should be an abundance of labor, and with an abundance of labor *there will be no difficulty in cutting down wages*, because it is preposterous to pay a Kaffir the present wages. He would be quite as well satisfied—in fact, *he would work longer—if you gave him half the amount*. His wages are altogether disproportionate to his requirements.

Then we hope to effect a considerable reduction in cost by the suppression of drunkenness among the natives. Not only does drunkenness give rise to many mining accidents, which are deplorable and costly, but it also prevents us from getting the full benefit from the labor which we employ.

From the same source we quote the following remarks by a Mr. Rudd at this meeting:

If they could only get one half the natives to work three months of the year it would work wonders. He was not

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pleading for the mines, or urging the views of capitalists—but from the point of view of progress, agriculture, public works, mines, and the general prosperity of the country. They should by some cogent form of inducement, or practically compel the native through taxation, or in some other way to contribute his quota to the good of the community, and to a certain extent he would then have to work.

He was not advocating slavery. As in everything else there were the use and abuse of labor, and there was constantly the deliberate misuse of the word slavery by those who wanted to raise it as a bogey. If under the cry of civilization we in Egypt lately mowed down 10,000 or 20,000 dervishes with Maxims, surely it cannot be considered a hardship to compel the natives in South Africa to give three months in the year to do a little honest work. We have in power today a strong government, but there is a morbid sentimentality among a large section of the community on the question of the natives, and government requires the support of the majority of their countrymen.

PATRICK EDWARD DOVE ON THE LAND QUESTION.

HENRY GEORGE was fortunate in receiving a larger measure of public recognition and favor during his lifetime than any radical reformer we know of, but had he lived in any previous age he would have undoubtedly trod the thorny path of his predecessors. The fact that he lived to witness such an astonishing growth, throughout the civilized world, of the principles he advocated, would seem conclusive evidence that the world is better now than it used to be.

The same principles advocated in "Progress and Poverty" were given to the world in 1850, in a book entitled "The Theory of Human Progression," by Patrick Edward Dove, who was born in Scotland in 1815. The circulation of the book, however, was limited to a small coterie of admirers, including Thomas Carlyle, Charles Sumner, professor Blackie, and others, who tried without success to obtain for it a more extended hearing. The cost of publication, and more particularly the small demand on the part of the reading public for a work of this kind, caused its withdrawal in a short time.

Dove was born of rich and prominent parents, and acquired an unusually good education at home and in France. He traveled extensively, lived luxuriously, and in 1840 became possessed of a large estate upon which he lived for seven years, when he lost it all by an imprudent investment. A few months later he married, moved to Germany, and began to write "The Theory of Human Progression." Upon its completion he returned to Edinburgh, and soon acquired a reputation as a teacher and writer. In 1860 he was stricken with paralysis, after which he lived a very retired life with his family until he died in 1873.

The following extracts from his book illustrate the close resemblance to Henry George in thought and expression:

How comes it that, notwithstanding man's vast achievements, his wonderful efforts of mechanical ingenuity, and the amazing productions of his skill, his own condition in a social capacity should not have improved in the same ratio as the improvement of his condition with regard to the material world. . . . And notwithstanding this, a large portion of the

population (in England) is reduced to pauperism, to that fearful state of dependence in which man finds himself a blot on the universe of God—a wreck thrown up by the waves of time, without a use and without an end, homeless in the presence of the firmament, and helpless in the face of creation. Was it for this that the Almighty made man in His own image, and gave him the earth for an inheritance? . . . We do not believe it; neither do we believe that pauperism comes from God. It is man's doing, and man's doing alone. God has abundantly supplied man with all the requisite means of support; and where he cannot find support we must look, not to the arrangements of the Almighty, but to the arrangements of men and to the mode in which they have portioned out the earth.

To charge the poverty of man on God is to blaspheme the Creator instead of bowing in reverent thankfulness for the profusion of His goodness. . . . There is enough for all, and all that is requisite is freedom to labor on the soil, and to extract from it the produce that God intended for man's support. . . .

But social knowledge—that is, social science—is absolutely requisite before we can labor intelligently to improve man's social condition. These are the conditions under which man tenants the globe. Every department of nature and of man's phenomenology has its laws; and if those laws are infringed, evil is the immediate, invariable, and necessary result. And if man's social condition is evil; if we find at one end of society a few thousands of individuals with enormous wealth, for which they work not, and never have worked, and at the other end of society millions belonging to the same country and born on the same soil, with barely the necessaries of life, and too often in abject destitution—there is no other conclusion possible than that this poverty arises from man's social arrangements. . . .

The evil is expressed in a few words; and sooner or later the nation will appreciate it and rectify it. It is the alienation of the soil from the state, and the consequent taxation of the industry of the country. Britain may go on producing with wonderful energy, and she may accomplish far more than she has yet accomplished. . . . She may lead foremost in the march of civilization, and be first among the kingdoms of the earth. All this she may do, and more. But as certainly as Britain continues her present social arrangements, so certainly will there come a time when the labor of Britain will emancipate itself from thralldom. Gradually and surely has the separation been taking place between the privileged land-owner and the unprivileged laborer. And the time will come at last that there shall be but two parties looking each other in the face, and knowing that the destruction of one is an event of necessary occurrence. That event must come. Nor is it in man to stay it or produce it. It will come as the result of the laws that govern nature and that govern man. . . . And notwithstanding the almost universal prevalence of the current superstition about the rights of landed property, we have no hesitation in affirming that a very few years will show that superstition destroyed, and the main question of England's welfare brought to a serious and definite discussion. . . .

Reverence for law as law, as a human rule of *action de facto* enacted by legislators is mere debasing superstition; nor, however venerable law may be in some men's estimation, do we consider either their law or their worship of it at all entitled to respect. Men venerate law and care nothing for justice, just as they venerate the priest and forget the Deity. And if any legislature or any king commit an act, which act would not be equitable between two individuals, we no more hesitate to call it a crime in the one case as well as in the other. And when legislators, taking advantage of the superstitious veneration which men still have for power and human authority, proceed to prohibit actions which are not crimes, and to burden the population with unequal taxation, and to exclude large portions of the population from equal rights in the eye of the law and in the scheme of the state, we do not hesitate to affirm that such legislation should be regarded exactly in the same light that individual violence or restraint would be regarded.

All we ask is, that the same principles that regulate the laws as they affect individuals should be extended to the political actions of the rulers; and if once this principle were realized, all partiality, class legislation, privilege, commercial restriction, customs laws, game laws, etc., would immediately disappear. . . .

Serfdom and aristocracy are, in fact, the correlatives of each other. Wherever there are serfs, there there are aristocrats, and *vice versa*. . . . It is mere fallacy to suppose that serfdom

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has been abolished in England. It has not been abolished, it has only been generalized. And here we must have recourse to an illustration to show that serfdom or even slavery may be abolished in appearance, and yet retained in reality, the means of compulsion being changed with the advance of society, which would no longer tolerate the open employment of individual force.

Let us suppose an island divided into thirty estates. These estates belong to thirty proprietors, and are cultivated by slaves. These slaves are the property of the white proprietors, each of whom has a stock of one hundred. There are then thirty proprietors and three thousand laboring slaves supported by the island—the slaves having sustenance and the labor; the proprietors having indolence and the luxury. . . . Let us now suppose that the proprietors made a new arrangement of their affairs; that instead of possessing each a hundred slaves, they thought it would be more convenient to establish a system by which those proprietors who wanted the labor of more at any particular time should be able to have it, and those who at any particular time had not work for a hundred should relieve themselves of the expense of their keep. Each proprietor gives up his right to his negroes, but the negroes are still to do the work of the island, and the proprietors are still to have the profit. . . . All the land being in the hands of the proprietors, the negroes can obtain support only by laboring for the proprietors. . . . The laborers are the serfs and the proprietors are the aristocracy. . . . Let the political arrangements be what they may; let there be universal or any other suffrage, so long as the aristocracy have all the land and derive the rent of it, the laborer is only a serf, and a serf he will remain until he has uprooted the rights of private landed property. The land is for the nation and not for the aristocracy. . . .

No instance can be adduced of a population reduced to extreme poverty (as must ever be the case where the land, the great source of wealth, is allotted to a few who labor not), where that population has not been also and in consequence reduced to moral and intellectual degradation, and where the spirit of man has not been depraved and borne down by the circumstances in which man, and not God, has placed him. . . .

We are fully aware that there exists in the minds of many persons a vague apprehension that if the present laws relating to landed property were to be disturbed evils of the most malignant character would invade the society of Britain. Nothing can be more absurd, more puerile, more dastardly. The very same fears have prevailed with regard to every other change that has taken place; and, down to the last change that man shall make in his political arrangements, we may rest satisfied that the craven, the place-man, and the aristocrat will not fail to vent loud lamentations on the evils which, in their estimation, are sure to follow. . . .

No political truth requires to be more strenuously impressed upon the world than that the men of every succeeding generation have the same right to make their own arrangements, unburdened with any responsibilities, restrictions, diversities of rights and privileges, other than those restrictions imposed by the general laws of equity, or those diversities of office which they may agree to make for their general advantage. Nothing can be more absurd than to suppose that a past generation can make arrangements to deprive the present generation (at any given time) of its full right to dispose of the earth in the mode that is best for the present generation.

If, then, we admit that every generation of men has exactly the same free right to the earth unencumbered by any arrangement of past ages, the great problem is to discover such a system as shall secure to every man his exact share of the natural advantages which the Creator has provided for the race, while at the same time he has full opportunity, without let or hindrance, to exercise his labor, skill and industry for his own advantage.

No truth can be more absolutely certain as an intuitive proposition of the reason than that an object is the property of its creator, and we maintain that creation is the only means by which an individual right to property can be generated. Consequently, as no individual is the Creator of the earth, it belongs equally to all the existing inhabitants. That is, no individual has a special claim to more than another. But though the permanent earth never can be private property, it must be possessed by individuals for the purpose of cultivation, and for the purpose of extracting from it all those natural objects which man requires. The question then is, upon what terms or according to what system must the earth be possessed by

successive generations that succeed each other on the surface of the globe?

The scheme that appears to present itself most naturally is, the general division of the soil. . . . Such a division would be as useless as it is improbable. But it is more than useless—it is unjust; and unjust, not to the present so-called proprietors, but to the human beings who are continually being born into the world, and who have exactly the same natural right to a portion that their predecessors have. . . .

The actual division of the soil need never be anticipated, nor would such a division be just, if the divided portions were made the property (legally, for they could never be so morally) of individuals.

If, then, successive generations of men cannot have their fractional share of the actual soil (including mines, etc.) how can the division of the natural advantages of the natural earth be effected?

By the division of its annual value or rent; that is, by making the rent of the soil the common property of the nation. That is (as the taxation is the common property of the state), by taking the whole of the taxes out of the rents of the soil, and thereby abolishing all other kinds of taxation whatever.

And thus all industry would be absolutely emancipated from every burden, and every man would reap such natural reward as his skill, industry, or enterprise rendered legitimately his, according to the natural law of free competition. This we maintain to be the only theory that will satisfy the requirements of the problem of natural property. And the question now is: How can the division of the rent be effected? An actual division of the rent—that is, the payment of so much money to each individual—would be attended with, perhaps, insuperable inconveniences; neither is such an actual division requisite, every requirement being capable of fulfilment without it. . . .

Both the customs and excise laws, and every other tax on industry, have arisen from the alienation of the soil from the state; and were the soil resumed, every tax of every kind and character, save the common rent of the soil, might be at once abolished, with the whole army of collectors, revenue officers, cruisers, coast guards, excisemen, etc., etc.

Where the land is taxed, no man is taxed, nor does the taxation of land interfere in any way whatever with the progress of human industry. On the contrary, the taxation of land, rightly directed, might be made to advance the condition of the country to a high degree of prosperity.

We have no hesitation whatever in predicting that all civilized communities must ultimately abolish all revenue restrictions on industry, and draw the whole taxation from the rents of the soil. And this because (as we shall endeavor to show in a future portion of the subject) the rents of the soil are the common produce of the whole labor of a community.

E. B. SWINNEY.

TRUE RICHES.

Because thou sayest, I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing; and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked. I counsel thee to buy of Me gold tried in the fire, that thou mayest be rich; and white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed, that the shame of thy nakedness do not appear; and anoint thine eyes with eye-salve, that thou mayest see.—*Rev. iii. 17, 18.*

If we are rich and think we have need of nothing because we are increased with this world's goods; if we calmly accept this situation by being content with a social system that allows us to monopolize the bounties which nature freely offers to all, and can not see that such a system robs our brothers of their natural rights and compels them to be poor; if we are deaf to the cry of suffering and distress which comes from our fellow-man on account of this injustice; if we can not see the justice in a brother's demand for the full result of his own labor; if we believe that the Creator grants privileges to a few favorites and unmercifully allows the majority to suffer; if all these things are true of you and me, then indeed are we spiritually wretched, miserable, poor, blind, and naked.

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In vain will we strive to attain spiritual health; in vain will we strive to satisfy our desires for spiritual insight, we must remain blind, naked, wretched, and poor until we open the door to the spirit of truth, who will anoint our eyes with eye-salve. Then will we see that poverty, wretchedness, and crime are not in accordance with God's laws, and we will do all in our power to restore to each his right to a share in the bounties of nature.

We will wear the white raiment of practical intelligence, and be enabled to lay the foundation of natural justice, the only foundation on which spiritual life can rest. Then shall we be rich in the possession of gold tried in the fire; a realization of God's love.

M. CEBELIA HOLLISTER.

THE PROBLEM OF THE INDIVIDUAL LIFE.

IT used to appear to me to be a reasonable assumption that every man at some period of his life must call himself to judgment, must attempt to solve the riddle of his being, must ask himself what he is here for. What is this life—this death—this struggle for an existence which old men tell us is of little worth at last? What is the meaning of it all? But since an answer to that question has been wrung in pain and suffering from my own life; since I have watched the great tideless sea of humanity rising and falling, coming and going and never getting anywhere; since I have vainly striven with men whom the world holds in high esteem for the mere recognition of those principles of justice and right enunciated by our Declaration of Independence as self-evident, I have attained the conviction that the sweeping indictment against men—that they do not think—is irrefutable. Else why does institutional slavery, that vast impersonal mastership, that cruellest and bitterest state of servitude, so long endure? Have not these human beings a ballot in their hands that would free them did they but use it intelligently? And do they not go on year after year voting away their birthrights, enslaving themselves, their children and their children's children?

Is not the man or woman who makes no effort to better the condition of society an enemy to society—at least a passive one? Is not the ignoring of evil tantamount to giving it full leave to spread? What then shall we think of the vast number of men who accept conditions as they find them and struggle merely for individual supremacy, closing their eyes to the sordid misery of their fellow human beings, to all the great pain of the common life? What can be the meaning of such a life? Do such men know what they are here for? I do not believe it; I cannot believe that they have ever put this question to themselves—this question which to answer is to make life significant; this question which to answer shows the hollowness of the things most men strive for—shows that against all time-honored institutions of established in-

justice, to be true to the best that is in him one must turn rebel. . . .

To him whom it is given to grasp the concept of true democracy, to grasp the full significance of the idea of equal rights, there can be no doubt as to what he is here for. The whole world lies before him as a chessboard upon which the misery, the crime, and the insanity of his fellows, may be clearly traced to the monopolization, by a few players, of the squares over which all must move. He sees millions huddled together on a single square in poverty and vice, while field, forest and mountain yearn to be peopled.

This monopoly of the soil is a fundamental wrong. It is the primary cause of a multitude of evils which can never be corrected until it is corrected.

My brothers, there is a civic courage which is greater than military courage, and the age is as ripe for civic heroes as for those upon the sea. Never before in our nation's history did she call so loudly and so earnestly for those of her sons and daughters who are great enough to put their lives to the test of principle; who are great enough to be misunderstood for a little while; who, through love of truth and righteousness, dare to hurl themselves in the face of popular thoughtlessness and inertia that the liberties our forefathers fought for may not be lost to the common people. What other cause is worth so much of sacrifice?

—From a Commencement Speech, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, S. D., June 14, 1899, by Franklin H. Wentworth, of Chicago, in Social Forum.

THE MINER'S RIGHT.

TO-DAY I am enjoying to some extent the blessings of genuine Socialism, or by whatever you like to call the true partnership of the citizen in the resources of his country. To some extent only, but to that extent very really.

I am endeavoring to get a subsistence on a goldfield, by washing up ancient river deposits for the few tiny specks of nearly useless yellow metal contained in them. If I can live by doing that it is thanks to human folly, and not to Socialism or anything like it.

But in order to follow this ridiculous occupation I have taken out a miner's right. This document, costing only half-a-crown for six months, is a certificate of partnership in the natural resources of the country, in a way that nothing else existing at present comes near to. For the first time since my birth I am a partner in the state, not merely a person allowable to vote its managers into office.

This document certifies to me the absolute right to use a sufficient quantity of goldfield land for mining on, or, as I might put it, the right to a job; I am at liberty to go to any unoccupied portion of the national estate, and start work without further ceremony than putting in pegs to mark off the ground which for the time being I intend to use. I can leave there at plea-

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sure and select a fresh spot, but I cannot hold any place unworked, and so bar out somebody else, nor can any one so bar me out. Subject only to certain conditions of giving notice and registering, I can use lands outside of my mining area for purposes connected with the work, such as storing or laying on water, or erecting machinery. My country further guarantees me by this document the right to a quarter of an acre of the national estate for dwelling upon, and, whether for an abode, or in connection with the mine, or its outworks, to as much of the national timber, bark, stone, gravel, etc., as will serve my purpose, and also to a constant supply of the national timber for fuel; I have only to help myself to what there is.

Why the devil I can only get these plain and obvious rights of citizenship recognized to me in connection with mining I don't know. It seems to me that so far the miner is about the only Australian—anyhow, the only New South Wales person—who is at all entitled to be called, at present, a "member of the community." His membership may not go very far, but the person not possessed of a miner's right is a rank outsider.

—*The Worker, Australia.*

THE HISTORY OF A SAND BAR.

THE following story I think illustrates very clearly the evil effects of private property in land as well as the benefits accruing to labor from the use of machinery under free conditions.

About twenty-five years ago most of the sand used for building purposes in the city of Philadelphia was taken from the Delaware river near Bordentown, N. J. At that time about one hundred men, residents of Bordentown, were engaged in digging sand for the Philadelphia market.

These men by very hard work made a good living. Most of this sand was taken from a bar in the Delaware river, which at that time was public domain, under the charge of the riparian commissioner of the state of New Jersey. These sand diggers worked in a primitive way. They used an ordinary shovel, shovelling the sand into a lighter, and then transferring the sand from the lighter to a canal boat. These lighters are light draught boats which were floated over the bar at high tide and allowed to settle on it as the tide fell. When the tide had fallen sufficiently, the men could stand on the bar and fill the boats with sand. When the tide rose the lighter floated and was towed alongside the canal boat, and the sand transferred to it. Several tides were required to load a canal boat.

This way of working continued for several years; until there came a man who saw the advantage of the use of machinery. This new comer procured a dredging machine and advertised to load boats for twenty cents per cubic yard. Very soon he was loading all

the boats, the owners giving up loading by hand, for the reason that the boats could be loaded quicker by machinery and make more trips, and also for the reason that the machine-dug sand was cleaner than the hand-dug sand. This state of affairs continued for a number of years, both boat-owners and machine-owners making a good living in the meanwhile. Few laborers other than the owners of the boats were employed, and they were employed steadily because the dredging machine could work at all stages of the tide; and for that reason earned more as trimmers than they had previously earned as shovelers.

Among the boat-owners was one who conceived a scheme for reaping the benefit of the other fellows' labor. He formed a stock company of a few choice spirits, among whom was the owner of a strip of land on the Jersey shore, where there was a sand deposit. This company, which was known as the Bordentown Sand-Dredging company, applied to the riparian commissioner of the state of New Jersey for the rights to the sand bar, which it secured for a period of ninety-nine years at a yearly rental of one hundred dollars. The Bordentown Sand-Dredging company then bought a dredging machine, and began to compete with the owner of the machine already in use. This went on for two years, both concerns doing a profitable business.

At this time the Bordentown Sand-Dredging company secured a contract for dredging the channel in the Delaware river between Bordentown and Trenton. And not having a fleet of boats large enough to remove the amount of sand required by the contract it offered to load boats for nothing. This effectually destroyed the business of the first dredging machine, which within a year was sold for less than cost.

Having got rid of their competitors and having acquired a fleet of boats of its own, the Bordentown Sand-Dredging company raised the price of sand from nothing to forty cents per cubic yard. The independent boat owners thought this price exorbitant, and protested against it, declaring that they would go back to their old way, and load their boats from the bar. The company replied to their threat, stating that the bar was no longer public property, but the property of the Bordentown Sand-Dredging company.

Of course the independent boatmen had to submit to this demand, as well as to many irksome regulations. In the course of time these men ceased to be independent boat owners; their boats, and in many cases their homes also, becoming the property of the Bordentown Sand-Dredging company.

The above facts show conclusively, I think, that "the introduction of machinery" did not the least injury to the laborer, but on the contrary it actually helped him. And I think it will be seen that whatever injury they suffered, loss of property and of independence, was solely due to the fact that the state

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had made private property of a barren strip of sand, which had previously been equally free to the use of all.

T. P. RYAN.

THE LAND QUESTION IN NEW SOUTH WALES.

THE landowners reap a net tribute from the people of their state of £4,500,000 yearly, for which they do nothing in return. It may be urged that the government has in past years received some £50,000,000 from the purchasers of land, but as all that money has been spent in maintaining and increasing the value of the land sold, the matter is practically square. The next step in dealing with land monopoly should be the placing of municipal taxation on land values only, thus ceasing to penalize improvements, and also local government should be extended over the wide area not yet incorporated. The increased burdens thereby laid on landowners would compel them to put to much better use valuable land now held practically idle. This would, on the one hand, cause an increased demand for labor, and on the other, would reduce the price of ground to would-be tenants and lessees. Though a good deal may be done in placing settlers on what are still crown lands, yet the greatest developments of industry will take place on the more valuable parts of the state which have already been alienated. And the only effective means of dealing with the lands already private property is by increasing the land tax and thereby hastening the utilization of their latent potentialities. Also, the sale of crown lands should cease absolutely.

—*The Worker, Sydney, N.S.W. (Labor Union).*

PICK AND SHOVEL AND LABORER DISPLACED.

A NEW automatic excavating machine, in Chicago, is boring a sewer 40 ft. below ground faster than three gangs of bricklayers can lay the brick to enclose the sewer. By its aid five men can accomplish more than hundreds could by the old method of digging. It moves itself forward as the excavation is done in front; hauls away the earth; and dumps it on the outside.

The initial cost of the machine is great—some £9,000; but as the saving in labor is enormous, and the greater speed of work is worth much in itself, it soon pays for its cost.

But it does not do anything for the laborers it displaces, and who have to scramble for what jobs remain.

—*Brotherhood, London.*

Under the Single Tax it would do a great deal for the laborers.—EDITORS NEW EARTH.

WEALTH AND PENURY.

THAT wealth and penury advance hand in hand, that the stately, sumptuous mansion implies the lowly, desolate hovel, was long ago noted. We may rehearse the babble of the accredited political economists till

our brains are addled and our eyes benighted, and still the fact remains that so long as one man shall be authorized to draw an income of say 100,000 dollars per annum from the cultivators of a township for the use of the naked earth they stand on, to be increased as power shall dictate and need perforce assent, so long must the reward of the labor expended thereon be meagre and its subsistence scanty and precarious. So long as the millions whom God has doomed in the sweat of their faces to eat bread shall be constrained to solicit of others the privilege of so doing, and to propitiate the land-owning class by such share of the products as cupidity may exact and necessity must concede, the increase of population will be paralleled by the depression of labor and the laborer.

—*Horace Greeley.*

THE land question means hunger, thirst, nakedness, notice to quit, labor spent in vain, the toil of years seized upon, the breaking up of homes, the misery, sicknesses, deaths of parents, children, wives, the despair and wildness which spring up in the hearts of the poor, when legal force, like a sharp harrow, goes over the most sensitive and vital right of mankind. All this is contained in the land question."

—*Cardinal Manning.*

THE slave, the man with the hoe, is what he is by man's injustice. Had the latest and most efficient tools been furnished the negro, who would have profited? The master only. Equip the agricultural laborer of France with the finest hoe that skill can furnish, and who would benefit by the improvement? Not the man who wields it, but the master who controls the opportunity which the worker must use or starve.

—*W. Lloyd Garrison.*

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Devoted to the study and illustration of Social Problems on Moral and Religious Grounds

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BOR AND CAPITAL AND RESTRICT THEIR PRODUCTIVE EMPLOYMENT.

AN important conference whose object will be to formulate a plan for fighting trusts by attacking the fundamental causes that make them possible, and organizing for the execution of that plan, will be held in Chicago, beginning February 12, and continuing through the two following days. A public mass meeting will be held at the Auditorium, Tuesday evening, the 13th. A railroad rate of one-and-one-third fares for the round trip has been granted all delegates by the Central Passenger Association.

In the call to the conference the committee says:

Remember that those of us who still have resources may soon be without them, unable to assist either others or ourselves, if speedy action is not taken. Our correspondence already indicates that at least one thousand delegates will assemble on the morning of Lincoln's birthday. You should therefore advise the secretary at the earliest possible moment of your desire to be present at the conference as a delegate, that arrangements may be made to furnish you with the requisite credentials.

FRANKLIN H. WENTWORTH, *secretary*,
79 Dearborn st., Chicago, Ill.

DR. EDWARD MCGLYNN, better known as father McGlynn, passed away January 7. He had been suffering some time before his death, and underwent an operation which promised well at first, but he soon after began to sink, and death ensued. The doctor

never saved money; he was a friend to the poor, and gave away all he earned. In consequence he died in debt. A subscription to pay off this debt is being taken up by doctor Burtzell and others.

Not since the death of Henry George has so useful, active, and prominent a Single Taxer been called upon to lay down his work in this world. But, though we are unconscious of it, both of these men are still at work and with clearer insight in the cause they have at heart.

GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT'S message to the legislature this year is a voluminous document, treating of a variety of topics, and containing about 16,000 words. For this reason it has not been read by many who otherwise would have done so. Considerable space and emphasis is given by the governor to taxation, and other matters of special interest to the readers of *The New Earth*. In view of the fact that so many of those who have seen the message have not read it, and that many others may not have had an opportunity to do so, we quote such portions of it as are pertinent.

To the governor, the problem of taxation appears to be unsolvable. His opening remarks on this subject are as follows, italics ours:

The whole problem of taxation is now, as it has been at almost all times and in almost all places, one of extreme difficulty. It has become more and more evident in recent years that existing methods of taxation, which worked well enough in a simpler state of society, are not adequate to secure justice when applied to the conditions of our complex and highly specialized modern industrial development. *The real estate owner is certainly bearing an excessive proportion of the tax burden.*

From a legal standpoint real estate is, as the governor claims, bearing an "excessive proportion of the burden of taxation." Personal property, which under the law should be taxed equally with real estate, now as is generally known, very largely escapes taxation.

But while real estate may be said to be excessively taxed in the sense pointed out, it is not true that all real estate is excessively taxed. Some real estate is not taxed at all. Church property, for instance, which is specifically exempt from all taxation under the law. Such exemption is the bastard offspring of the mesalliance of church and state in bygone times. The exemption of church real estate from taxation is false in principle, vicious in practice, and opposed to dem-

Anonymous
Mar. 1, 1946

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ocratic principles. The governor might consistently, as a means of relieving real estate that is excessively taxed, have urged upon the legislature the repeal of the statute exempting church real estate from taxation.

Unimproved real estate, valuable vacant lots in cities, for instance, are, contrary to law, notoriously assessed for taxation at a much smaller proportion of their true value than improved real estate is assessed at. The governor might have urged upon the legislature the necessity for putting an end to this iniquitous practice as a means of relieving such real estate as is excessively taxed.

On the ground of legality, then, the governor is justified in saying that real estate is excessively taxed; and on the ground of equity he would be justified in urging the repeal of the law exempting church real estate from taxation, and also of insisting that unimproved real estate shall be assessed at the same proportion of its true value as improved real estate is assessed at.

The governor points out that a partial remedy for inequality can be applied without waiting for a general revision of the tax system; yet he is aware of the urgent necessity for such revision. But owing to the confusion of ideas on the subject of taxation in the public mind, which he thus sets forth,

Men who have made a special study of the theory of taxation and men who have had long experience in its practical application are alike in conflict among themselves as to the best general system;

he very wisely, we think, urges caution in making such revision. But the passage we quote below from his message goes to show on what general lines he thinks the revision ought to be made:

The law must not only be correct in the abstract, it must work well in the concrete. Experience shows that certain classes or symbols of property which in theory ought to be taxed cannot under the present practice be reached. Some kinds of taxes are so fertile in tempting to perjury and sharp dealing that they amount to taxes on honesty—the last quality on which we should impose a needless burden.

As to the law and the practice. A tree is known by its fruits. The inequities and injustices of the present tax laws of the state, which the governor in a measure recognizes, are the outgrowth of the principle that underlies them, viz., that all kinds of property should be taxed, and that every one should pay in proportion to the value of his possessions. Plainly some property is of an intangible nature. Some property can be hid from the assessors, and the value of most of the property which the assessors succeed in discovering cannot be accurately ascertained. This is true of that part of real estate denominated “improvements,”—only the value of the land to which improvements are attached can be estimated with substantial accuracy.

Under the present tax laws of the state some kinds of property are taxed twice, as in the case of property that is mortgaged. Because a mortgage is owned by one person, and the property upon which it is a lien

owned by another, both under the law are taxable to their full market value. And if both are taxed, it is evident that to the extent of the mortgage the property upon which it is a lien is doubly taxed. It is true that all mortgages, though taxable, are not taxed. But this fact only emphasizes the injustice and unwisdom of taxing mortgages.

Men who are perfectly honorable in other matters will not hesitate to undervalue their taxable personal property, and even in some cases to swear that they do not possess any at all, and think it no sin; just as many of our wealthy and respectable citizens will import as much taxable personal property as either the lukewarmness or blindness of the customs officer will permit, and not feel that they had done any wrong. The possibility of such evasions of public duty shows the inherent weakness of our present tax laws.

While it is possible to make some changes in our tax laws, and expedient to do so at once, the principle upon which such revision should be made ought to be determined upon before attempting any general revision of them. Before such determination can be reached, however, the different principles of taxation should be fully and dispassionately considered.

Possibly, the following suggestion or recommendation by the governor,

So far as possible we should divorce the state and municipal taxes, so as to render unnecessary the annual equalization of values between the several counties which has proved so fertile a source of friction between the city and the country;

would, if carried out, and permission given by the state to municipalities and other subdivisions of the state to raise their needed revenues from any class of property they thought fit—the way would be opened for just such a discussion of the tax question as is needed to enable the people to act intelligently in the matter.

THE MODERN PILGRIM'S PROGRESS.

ONE naturally takes for granted that there is but one “Pilgrim’s Progress,” and, as the pilgrim of this narrative travels a road that is hard upon the feet, we necessarily think of Bunyan’s. I have no desire, however, to steal the poetic fire of the Bedfordshire tinker, but am rather inclined to think that in the matter of human progress, the less we have to do with tinkers the better for all concerned.

When John Bunyan wrote his celebrated book, the common people knew nothing of systems of political or social economy. The whole matter was in the hands of the priest, and the issue lay between this world and the next. If you could not get along in this world your only chance was to “hedge” onto the next, by taking out the policy of fire insurance issued by the clerical underwriters. A great change has come over the minds of many thinkers in relation to these old ideas. They have ceased to give *exclusive* attention to a future life, and are trying to find out how to make

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this world a better place to live in than it has been and is now.

Our pilgrim was one of these seekers after better social conditions, and this paper is supposed to narrate a few of his adventures during the search.

At the very outset he found there were plenty of guides, and no end of sign-posts, to point the way to health, wealth, and happiness. The guides were all very ready to talk to him and give him full directions as to how he was to find the only right way. It puzzled him, however, and gave him no little concern, to find that the different guides (and they were not a few) gave him very widely different directions, some pointing one way and some another, and others again trying earnestly to draw him towards all the points of the social compass at the same time. He found that a guide never got tired of *talking* about his particular route, and that people generally seemed to have grown by use into the habit, so to speak, of being *talked* to.

One of these talkers himself gives an illustration of this habit in the *Temple Magazine*. The Rev. C. H. Grundy writes as follows:

Poor people bring their children to the parson to be lectured. Once an excited mother brought a great stupid-looking girl into my study, shouting, "Now, talk to her. I told Maria I'd bring her to you; now you just give her a good talking to."

"What has she done?"

"Never mind what she's done, you talk to her."

"Maria," I said, "I'm ashamed of you! How dare you cause all this trouble to your mother? At your age you ought to know better. Don't let me hear any more of this sort of thing, or I shall be very angry indeed." They departed; and to this day what Maria had done remains a mystery.

Our pilgrim's experience in this particular was not new, for all history shows society as being made up of two kinds of people, viz.: talkers and workers, and there has not been any material change except that there appears to be a growing conviction that it is time there was a change, and some even go so far as to recommend the practical adoption of the scriptural rule, "He that will not work neither shall he eat." This seems to be cruel, for if the talkers continue in their old course they must starve to death, and then what would become of the poor working man without any one to "talk" to him?

One of the first talkers our pilgrim met was the temperance advocate, who insisted strongly that strong drink was the cause of most of the poverty and crime so prevalent in modern society. While listening attentively, our pilgrim had a pamphlet slipped into his hand by a stranger who stood by and who begged him quietly to read it before he decided upon so important a matter. The pamphlet proved to be a paper by Dr. Charles H. Shepherd of Brooklyn, read before the Unitarian Temperance society connected with the National Conference recently held in Washington. The following quotation made a deep impression upon our pilgrim's mind:

The results of alcoholism are so deadly and so universal as to make the fact patent to every one that inebriety is one of the great curses of the world. A fruitful source of the trouble is excessive alimentation, and stimulants are sought to quiet the irritation that follows as a natural consequence; but the great mass of intemperance arises from the unfortunates who are thrown out of employment, those who are going down hill financially, and have no secure future in the mad rush of competition. An eminent English authority, after over thirty years of investigation of individual cases, found that 86 per cent. of drunkenness was directly traceable to financial depression caused by the present methods of competition. It seems as if mankind were bound to have some nepenthe for their sufferings, and in narcotics they find an expensive surcease for the time being.

This recalled to the pilgrim's mind a newspaper clipping that he had some time before put aside for future reference, and having looked it up he found that it strongly corroborated the doctor's statements. This is what he read:

The official report of an investigation of over 8,000 cases of poverty in eastern cities show that 25 per cent. are due to misconduct, and 75 per cent. to misfortune. In the misconduct cases about 16 per cent. were due to intemperance. Under the various forms of misfortune lack of employment leads with 23.26 per cent.; sickness, 22.27 per cent.; insufficient employment, 6.51 per cent.; no male support, 4.30 per cent.; old age, 4 per cent.; physical deformity, 3.69 per cent.; and accidents, 2.86 per cent. It is a sad fact that a majority of the destitute poor are people who deserve a better fate. Three persons are suffering the evils of poverty on account of misfortune where one suffers on account of misconduct, and, under the head of misfortunes lack of employment is the leading one.

These facts staggered our pilgrim, and although he saw that temperance had some claims to recognition as a reform, it was not by any means what he was looking for; so he resolved to look farther.

Not long after this he was introduced by the *New York Evening Post* (Nov. 5, 1899) to a reformer of another type, a woman who devotes her life to the reclaiming of young criminals, and she, in turn, drew his attention to the philanthropic work of a gentleman who is associated with her in the laudable efforts he describes in the pages of the *Post*. Katherine Ralston Fisher told our enquiring friend that

Unusual methods of saving boys from a vagrant and criminal life are being put in successful practice at the recently opened Children's House at No. 129 Chrystie street.

The Tombs School for boy prisoners, maintained for the last three years by the Public Education Association, has been a means of bringing to the notice of those interested in the needs of the class referred to, and of offenders with a longer record of misdoing as well. Mr. D. Willard, the teacher of the Tombs School, has for some time supervised several boys' clubs that met on the first floor of the Chrystie street house, clubs that overflowed from the University Settlement while it was inadequately housed in Delancey street. He thus had unusual opportunities for establishing relations with the boy element of the lower east side. The gamin, successful as yet in avoiding being "run in by the cop," the first offender, and the hardened young criminal all came to know him as a man who would treat them "white," without putting the least flavor of "professional" friendliness into his acts.

"There are six boys living here at present," he said, "just as many as we have planned to accommodate. Boys began to arrive before I was half ready for them, but I took them in and set them at work helping the janitor and me to get the house in order. In all there have been about a dozen boys here since May 1, when the house was opened. For one of those here now I have just got a janitor's place. He was arrested recently, with two other fellows, for beating and robbing a sailor. I knew these two to be hard cases, but the third I

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suspected to have been with them more by chance than choice. This proved to be the case. He was out of work and homeless, and, falling in with the two toughs, was asked by them to help in the job they had on hand. Of course, he wasn't innocent, but as he had never been arrested before, and had been 'done' out of his share in the stolen money by his accomplices, the judge let him go on my agreeing to be responsible for him. I brought him here, gave him clothes and money, and took him with me to the shore for a few days, ostensibly to carry my valise and do other services, but in reality that I might become better acquainted with him. We went sailing, crabbing, and fishing together, and came back to the city on the best of terms. He soon began to get work to do, and to pay me something for board out of his wages. Yesterday he brought me all his wages for the week. The boys, as a rule, are too proud to live 'on me' when then can afford to pay anything.

"Of course, some boys disappoint me. For instance, one for whom I got employment as a hall-boy brought me so many presents, all of which he declared were given to him, that I felt bound to investigate. Of course, as I suspected, he had stolen them.

"This is not an institution, and we have no 'system.' We aim first to remove the boys from temptation, second, to make them feel they have friends, and, third, to do all that is possible for their material and moral welfare. The idea is to keep a boy here two or three months, or until I can be reasonably sure that he can be trusted. I sent one of the younger ones on an errand the other day and discovered that he kept back a cent in returning the change. 'Why do you do that?' I said. 'Here are ten cents for pocket money; you'll do much better to ask for it than to steal it.' On another occasion, when he deceived me, I gave him the choice between taking a thrashing and being sent to an institution. He took the thrashing, and afterwards cried in my arms for an hour. I've great hopes of that boy, because he is young. Some of the older ones have already spent much of their lives in reformatory institutions. Too great expectations concerning them are unwise. I make it a rule to be thankful for a moderate harvest from liberal sowing of seed. The boys I receive may never be ornaments or even very useful props to society, but if they are prevented from being a dead weight on it, or its active enemy, the work of Children's House is not in vain."

This narrative was deeply interesting to the pilgrim, but at the close he shook his head slowly, and thus expressed himself: "These earnest philanthropists seem to think that social conditions have much to do with crime, and they are trying to lessen the evil by improving the conditions. Mr. Willard's sorrowful confession of the inadequacy of his well-meant efforts does not justify a hope for any great improvement in that direction, yet he seems to see 'as in a glass, darkly,' that any possible improvement must come under an environment more favorable to moral growth than that which surrounds the criminal at present. Now, if he be right with regard to a class that is so difficult to deal with, why should not improved social conditions be beneficial to the class that is certainly more susceptible to their influence, viz.: the honest and industrious poor, who, for various causes beyond their control, are unable to earn a comfortable living? There is something sadly wrong somewhere; and, so far, my guides have failed to place the wrong. With such methods as those employed by Mr. Willard and other reformers in his special line, I do not see why crime should not, like the brook, 'go on for ever,' and it would not be so very far out of the way if we gave a little extra twist to a certain much quoted passage of scripture and read, 'The thief ye shall always have with you.' Crime seems to me to be somewhat

of a boomerang that returns to smite the hand that hurls it."

In continuing his inquiries our pilgrim met with the following from a letter written by an intelligent convict in Sing Sing, that was of great service to him:

It is our opinion—and we write as one who has felt, metaphorically speaking, the branding iron of society—that the crimes of society against the individual (while he is not yet a criminal), continued with unrelenting ferocity when he has become one, are the causes of 50 per cent. of the crimes committed. We don't propose to defend crime. We hate it, whether it is exhibited in the individual or in the body social. It is merely to show the cause and effect, as we understand it, that we write. We divide criminals into three classes: The accidental or unintentional criminal; the criminal of circumstances or environment; and the criminal by election or preference. It is evident that we can do little to keep from their evil way the criminals who become such by accident or by deliberate choice, so we are left to deal with those who become criminals from circumstances or environment. Society's crime against this class of evil-doers is our toleration of the city slum. Not only does the slum urge its children on to evil before they realize what life means, but when they have become men and women and the judge sends them to prison to ponder the wages of sin, there is no memory of an innocent, happy childhood to beckon them back to repentance and better lives.

The accidental criminal has the recollection of better days and better things to cheer him. His memory harks back to other times and scenes. His idols may be shattered, but his ideals remain; and with their aid he can fathom the depth he has fallen; and he can, with the help of God and the outstretched hands of those who love him, struggle from out the slough of evil back to the narrow path again, though some of the mire will always cling to him. But the criminal of circumstance is denied this. His memory holds no picture of a clean, sacred, home-life, no recollections of a happy childhood—as happiness is understood—but instead it is always the streets, and the foul, evil-smelling brick barriers that form the background of his picture—phantoms of slatternly women and emaciated and crying babies; miasmas of foul smells; and recollections of cold, hunger, drunkenness, and disorder—the body.

His first recollections of law and order are indissolubly associated with the policemen—his natural enemy—the despoiler of his youthful pleasures, the relentless individual who seemed to his immature mind to legislate, execute, and adjudicate all law. His first glory was the overcoming of the, to him, irksome laws of that ever-present minion of society. How glorious to have him chase you from the docks when you went to swim; what bliss to hit him in the back with a rotten tomato when you come out. Unconsciously he became an evader of the law; a thorn in the policeman's side, and *ergo* a nuisance to society. His early amusements were watching a street fight or participating in one; his first games were those of chance; his field sports killing cats; his airings were taken on the tail-end of street cars or the end-gates of wagons; the street was his home; the tenement his residence and a good place to hang up his hat.

As every boy has his hero, whom he admires and imitates, so the child of the slum has his. How he admired Chimmy and Chonnie and Mickey as they stood there with their "3 for 5's" in their mouths; the red light of the "gin mill" illuminating the faces that were just beginning to show the lines of dissipation. How eagerly he listened to their poor bare tales of conquest of Sallie and Annie and Katie; of their dexterity with their hands; their capacity for mixed ale; their relation of the latest crime, the story of their latest contribution to jail; how Mickey Hoolihan had kicked in the "slats" of a policeman. He heard them relate their different limits of sensuality, and as the policeman on the beat wandered by and saluted them by their first names instead of "fanning" them off the corner, he throned them in Olympia and longed to grow up and be as they.

The prison turns the "accidental" criminal into a permanent one, who repays society for its crime against him. The slum boy, too, finds Sing Sing ill calculated to turn him to a better life.

This picture of the slums drawn by our artist on the

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spot, made an impression upon the pilgrim that was never afterwards effaced. For the first time he saw what a great dismal swamp lay in the midst of our social system, and his sense of moral decency was shocked by the horrid monstrosities which lurked there by night and day. He began to see that any reform that did not deal with such evils *fundamentally* was of doubtful value, and hardly worthy of serious attention.

About this time our pilgrim was introduced to another type of reformer. In a large hall were gathered a considerable number of men and women all earnestly engaged in talking or listening. There seemed to be a variety of shades of opinion among them upon the social questions they were discussing. Some were "looking backward," and some seemed to be listening to "news from nowhere," while a few were looking downward curiously, as if they did not know just where they stood. The latter, when questioned by our pilgrim, said they wanted the earth, but could not see how they were going to get it. Some went so far as to say that the land question might have to be dealt with before any of the beautiful fancies that some of the orators present had been so eloquently depicting could be realized.

We have not space to describe all that our pilgrim saw and heard that was interesting to him, but must go on to notice an occurrence that transpired at the close of the meeting. As he stepped upon the sidewalk a lady handed him what he took to be a tract, which upon inspection proved to be an invitation to a meeting of the women's W. X. Y. Z. Patching and Mending association. No doubt the general delapidation of the pilgrim's garments had attracted the keen eye of the philanthropist, and she eagerly pounced upon him as a deserving object of charity. "Won't you come to our meeting?" she asked with a saccharine smile; "we will show you how to patch and mend your clothes so that you need not take the landlord's rent to pay for new ones; and we throw a cup of hot coffee and a roll into the bargain." "Excuse me, madam," said a voice from behind him that he recognized as belonging to the man who had given him Dr. Shepherd's paper to help him out in the temperance discussion; "excuse me, madam, but this man is not so hungry for rolls as he is for the dirt beneath his feet, he is getting up a splendid appetite for land; he is land-hungry, but he does not know it." "Dear me!" exclaimed the lady; "is it really true that there are earth-eaters, and is this one of them?" "Madam," replied the stranger, "when we were children we played at making mud pies. The time will come when the now landless poor will cut into a great big mud pie, and satisfy their natural hunger for the land. Then charity will no longer dole out hot coffee and rolls to starving victims of land monopoly, but all will be abundantly satisfied with the fullness of the earth." "Dear me!" said the bewildered lady, with a sigh,

"what a strange man." Then turning away she looked at the pilgrim, tapped her forehead with her finger significantly, smiled pityingly, and bade him good day.

The stranger now quietly took the pilgrim's hand and said, "You have not yet found what you have been looking for?" "No; I seem to be almost as far off the object of my search as ever. I am perhaps looking for that which cannot be found. How can I, who cannot help myself, hope to help others?" "Ah, my friend," replied the stranger, "there is no more effective way of helping ourselves than by helping others. Don't you remember the story of the traveler who was lost in the snow, and who, when on the point of lying down to die, stumbled across the unconscious form of another traveler who had preceded him; how the discovery stirred his sympathy and roused his drowsy senses, and how the rubbing of the victim's frozen limbs set his own sluggish blood circulating and tingling through his own veins, and they were both saved?"

"No, no, my friend, you must not be discouraged yet. This experience is for your ultimate benefit. I would like to introduce you to another women's philanthropic association, but in your present attire you would not be admitted. This body is called The Tony Tinkers Tittle Tattle club, and is a kind of aristocratic duplicate of the W. X. Y. Z. association. They propose to patch or tinker all the holes or rents of poverty, but have not as yet succeeded in making patches large enough to cover the extensive holes vulgarly called 'slums,' nor have they attempted to deal with the 'rents' that leave the poor so bare all the time. The duties of the ladies of this club are supposed to be very laborious. The long speeches are described by the hearers as being quite exhausting, and one of the most characteristic departments in the work of the club, the Pink Teas, involving as it does a studious attention to dress, must necessarily be *wearing*. The reports read are said to be glowing examples of condensed elaboration and concentrated diffusion. The sorrowful part of this movement seems to be the unconscious apathy of the class in society for whose special benefit these tremendous efforts are being exerted, as the necessity for the work of this club seems never to grow less."

Space will not allow us to follow the pilgrim through the progressive stages of his varied experience. As he became better acquainted with the misery of a great number of his fellows, the burden of responsibility and sympathy grew larger and heavier, until it became unbearable. One evening, after a hard day's tramp, disappointed, dispirited, and well-nigh despairing, he met with an experience that became the turning point in his intellectual, moral, and religious life. As he shambled wearily along the city sidewalk, with head bent in deep perplexity, he almost stumbled into a crowd gathered at the corner of a busy thorough-

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fare. Roused by the sudden interruption in his progress, he found himself surrounded by a large number of men and women who appeared to be listening with deep interest to a speaker standing upon a portable platform. Thinking at the moment that this was but another of the popular religious open-air services that he had often attended before, he was about to push his way out of the crowd when his attention was arrested by these words of the speaker, "*The course of poverty and crime runs parallel with the private ownership of land.*" Although he did not realize the import of the phrase so clearly then as he did afterwards, he knew that he was not listening to a Salvation Army orator. The statement so plainly put by the speaker was so unlike what he had been accustomed to hear at religious services that he felt like listening to more, so he edged his way up towards the platform and found to his surprise that the speaker was the stranger whom he had met on several occasions noticed in our narrative, and whose timely remarks had left an impression upon his mind that he had not been able to shake off. The thoughts and feelings which that street discourse aroused within him may better be described in his own language:

The heavy sense of disappointment that my unsatisfactory search had left brooding over my mind seemed to lift slowly, like a mist before the dawning sunlight of the new revelation, and the gloom of pessimistic doubt was gradually dissipated by a growing conviction of the soundness of the speaker's arguments. For the first time I saw a bright gleam of hope for the human race. I had been so accustomed to look to some supermundane source for a solution of all human difficulties, that the idea of finding a solvent in the earth beneath my feet never occurred to me. Yet this was just the fact of the matter, and plain enough to be seen in the light of the speaker's arguments. He showed that the earth was the natural inheritance of every child born upon it, and that it contained in its boundless opportunities, every requisite for human happiness.

"The reason why many have not enough of the necessities and comforts of life," said he, "is because the land, which is the source of all these things, has been appropriated by a few who keep the rest of mankind out of the use of it, and the only way to get rid of the poverty (with its attendant evils) caused by that misappropriation is to *restore* to all their natural right to the free use of all natural opportunities." As he described the miseries of the poor in the crowded, ill-ventilated, and filthy tenements, I saw more clearly than ever before that these were distinctly traceable to the private ownership of land; that crime was a natural outgrowth of the slums; that the reason why the poor huddled together under circumstances in which common decency is impossible, was because they could not afford to pay for space and air and light, which were all indirectly taxed in an exorbitant rent; that consequently their children had no chance to grow up into pure, honest, and intelligent manhood and womanhood; that the difficulty of obtaining the necessities and comforts of life was further increased by unjust tariffs and taxes imposed for the benefit of a few unscrupulous speculators and manufacturers. There is no good reason why we should be burdened by tariffs and taxes at all. In the evolution of the community the necessary expenses for improvements incident to its growth are provided for naturally, in the increased value of land. As, under unnatural conditions poverty and crime keep pace with the private ownership of land, so under opposite conditions that natural fund of 'unearned increment,' constantly augmenting, arises out of the formation of the community, and ever after keeps pace step by step with its growth. But if this natural provision be appropriated by private individuals it is plain that expenses must be met in some other way. Hence the necessity for the artificial system of taxation that now presses so heavily upon all, especially the poor."

The speaker also pointed to the fact that many thousands, at times reaching into the millions, had no employment, as a proof that the opportunities of nature were not open to all. "If the land were free," said he, "the laborer would not be compelled to take less wages for his labor than he could, by the same labor, obtain from the soil. Beside, if land were taxed to its full rental value it would not pay to keep it idle, consequently it would be thrown upon the market for building and other purposes, and there would be plenty of employment for all at good wages. With the opportunity to obtain a good living easily before them, men and women would be less likely than now to become slaves to vicious habits. The gaudy and delusive glare of the saloon would pale beside the lamp of hope that the Single Tax would light in the home of every industrious laborer. When private ownership of the sources of wealth shall cease, 'Time will go back and fetch the golden age,' and the glorious visions of poets, prophets, and philosophers will be realized in the new order of society that must surely follow the restoration to mankind of the primitive right to the free use of the opportunities of nature." The speaker said much more that I cannot now recall. I left him with regret and afterwards eagerly read the publications that he kindly put into my hands at the close of his address. From that day to this I have never doubted the cure for poverty and crime. I have found an ideal that can be practically applied to the present desperate needs of humanity, and worthy of what little effort I can devote to its realization.

The pilgrim's progress does not end here. He is still progressing, but he finds his path much pleasanter than it was before he took the Single Tax as his guide. Bunyan's pilgrim looked for deliverance from sin and suffering in a realm of bliss beyond the sky. Our pilgrim looks for the realization of his hope in *this* life, and thinks that if there be a life beyond the grave in which there shall be no more sorrow nor crying, his efforts to wipe away a few tears from the swollen eyes of poverty *now*, ought not to deny him a share in the promised invitation, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me. Enter ye into the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world."

E. CORKILL.

THE "VERDICT" OF THOUGHTFUL MEN.

THOUGHTFUL men explain the famine as the result of the improved protection thrown around life under British rule, which has raised the population of the country, India, 100,000,000 in a hundred years. The English stopped the tribal wars and killed off plagues and wild beasts, the natural population checks, and more people are born than the country can support in years of drought.

—New York Journal.

LAND SPECULATION AND INSURANCE.

FRANKLIN H. Wentworth, in discussing the relation of land speculation to fire insurance in the current *Insurance Monitor*, makes the point that in many districts the supply of indemnity exceeds the demand, owing to the attitude of land speculators and others interested in delaying the improvement of property. He says: "The investment of this idle capital would result in two things of marked benefit to insurance companies: It would take it out of the banks, where it lies in wait to spring into the arena and compete as soon as it spies a favorable balance-sheet; and second, it would enor-

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mously increase insurable values. When capital is employed it erects buildings and works up natural resources into merchandise of every description; and it is because of the existence of buildings and stocks that fire insurance is a business. It thus becomes clear that the conditions under which capital lies idle are the conditions behind which hides the cause of the greed and avarice of insurance managers, which we are so fond of deploring; for whatever operates to bring new competitors into the business, and at the same time, restrict the creation of insurable values, must create a struggle for self-preservation that will bring out the undesirable traits in men. If, therefore, we find what it is that keeps capital from profitable employment, we will have found the explanation of the unrest that at present pervades the insurance world."

—*Evening Post, New York.*

THE BASIS FOR BROTHERHOOD.

THE resources of nature should not become private property, for thus is created the means of oppression and the opportunity for some to live upon what others produce, opportunities of which multitudes of the unscrupulous are swift to take advantage. So millions go like slaves to irksome tasks, and though they never dream the reason why, they feel profoundly that they are being wronged. And they are. How, or why, they do not know. But they are cut off from the sources of life and love by their fellowmen! They are cut off from the gifts of God by their fellowmen! And then are they asked to be brothers to those who thus wrong them? In sentiment they may be, if they have grace enough; but actually they cannot, simply because they have not the means of brotherhood. The materials through which alone brotherhood can manifest and realize itself are not in their possession. It is therefore absurd to try to establish a brotherhood of man with such an injustice at its base.

—*Carl D. Thompson, in Social Gospel.*

THE PENALTY OF ATTRACTIVENESS.

MUNICIPAL councils throughout New South Wales exist mainly for the punishment of any enterprising person who may carry into effect the criminal desire to improve the town in which he lives. If he beats his wife he is fined 40s. and is done with it; if he makes a pretty garden, adds a room to his home, erects a few water tanks, or displays too much industry in the raising of vegetables or strawberries, he is pounced upon by the municipal tax collector, fined so many shillings per annum, which fine is repeated so long as he persists in making things better for himself and those around him. The writer knew a man who in a country town where there was no water supply, fixed up a little fountain fed from a tank, and planted a few choice shrubs around it. This was on the main street, and the little plot was the admiration of visitors and a continual source of pleasure to residents. But one

evil day the eyes of the assessor fell upon it, and the culprit was forthwith fined 10s. a year so long as he persisted in his misconduct. That garden plot is now a wilderness and an eyesore to the neighbors, but the fine has been relaxed; indeed, the culprit has learned his lesson so well that he has allowed his house to fall into disrepair, and throws all his jam tins and pickle bottles and old boots into the front garden, because it makes the place look more disreputable, and so the assessor reduces his claim year by year. With persistent effort in this direction, he has hopes that the council will remit all his taxes as a reward for transforming the chief beauty spot in the town into an eyesore that offends the artistic sense even of the local aldermen.

—*The Worker, Sydney, N.S.W.*

DIVINE DISCONTENT.

WHOEVER helps to make the bright ideal for the individual and for society gleam ahead, as a pillar of fire guiding through the wilderness, whoever sounds the bugle call to the march forward, is of use to his fellows. Whoever makes people think of every human being as potentially good and great, even although for the time being entangled in the snares of selfish and jingo delusions; whoever has faith in man, not as he seems by his conduct today, but as he *is* in the inner hidden reality which has yet to be manifested; whoever has faith in the patient toiling Power that is making man, lifting him, urging him from within, out of the slime-state, out of animalism, out of savagery, to the recognition of his divine nature; whoever hungers and thirsts after righteousness and is drawing it forth from the hidden wellspring; is a factor in human social evolution; himself at once a product of evolution and a co-worker with the Power that is working in him and that evolves good everywhere.

—*Brotherhood, London.*

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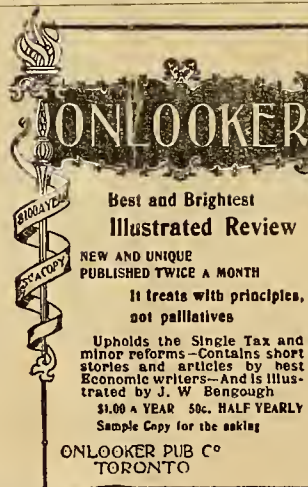
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CEIVE THEIR FULL EARNINGS.

TO EFFECT THIS

THROUGH TAXATION THE RENTAL VALUE OF LAND, COM-
PUTING IMPROVEMENTS, AND WOULD USE THIS REVENUE
PURPOSES IN LIEU OF THE TAXES THAT NOW OPPRESS LA-
BOR AND RESTRICT THEIR PRODUCTIVE EMPLOYMENT.

FIRST among the causes to which is attributed, by
a committee of bishops chosen to formulate them, the
loss of prestige sustained by Methodism in large cities
appears this: "*Labor troubles and the church standing
aloof from them.*"

ARRANGEMENTS have been made for conducting,
during the summer of 1900, a school for the study of
Swedenborg.

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of L. E. Wilmarth, one of the editors of *The New
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and the Hudson, commanding a magnificent
surrounding country, and in the midst of
a fruit growing district.

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lonie, 540 Pearl St., New York City.

This school will present exceptional facilities to
recreation combined with useful study.

OUR OFFENSE AGAINST THE LITTLE ONES.

"Do you want a boy to do any work?"

The voice startled me, and raising my eyes from
my work I saw standing just inside the office door a
thin sad-faced little boy.

"What work can you do?" I asked.

"Don't know; any thing, I guess. Papa is looking
every day for work, but he can't get it. Mama is do-
ing some sewing, but she only gets enough to pay the
rent, and I thought I'd try and get some work, but
nobody seems to want me." And a sigh escaped his
thin lips.

He looked so cold and hungry, I asked, "Have you
had any breakfast, my little man?"

"No, ma'am, but that wouldn't hurt much if I only
could get work."

"How old are you?"

"Most eleven," he replied, straightening himself
as if with a desire to look grown up.

The day was biting cold and blustering without;
our office was warm and comfortable. I should have
been happy to have kept him there, but that was im-
possible, so the dear little fellow was obliged to resume
his search for work. Does not your heart ache for
little ones like this?

How many thousands of children are there, barely
out of babyhood, working, in this our day, in depart-
ment stores, mills, factories, and sweat shops? What
sights do they not see? What language do they not
hear?

How hardly can they enjoy any innocent young
life? How hardly can the desire for an upright life,
for a love of home and its pure joys, for a love of the
neighbor, be fostered under such conditions?

Woe unto us, as a nation, for our offence against
these little ones. We have cramped their orderly de-
velopment, and must suffer for it by having among us
a host of men and women enfeebled physically, with-
out the moral strength to resist the promptings of their
baser instincts, deficient in intellectual power, and im-
poverished as to their love for humanity.

How radically this would be changed if natural op-
portunities were open to all, thus securing to every
man the power to support his family in a way com-
mensurate with advancing civilization.

M. CEBELIA HOLLISTER.

THE NEW EARTH

POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE SINGLE TAX

THE Single Tax has not "arrived." So much is certain. No party courts it; no party fears it. The world is not talking about it. Thus it is a party to make its gain out of all parties without catering to any. Let us consider these one by one, inclusive of the parties within parties.

We will begin with the "south." This large party within a party votes the democratic ticket, but takes no account of the party platform. It would elect the candidate whatever his platform, provided he were the "regular" nominee. This has been repeatedly proved during the last thirty years. As the Single Tax needs, to insure its success, whole-hearted advocacy for its own sake, it is evident that it cannot rely depend upon the south to help it to victory.

The populist is a good party, all made up of reformers, and honeycombed, they say, with Single Taxers. That it were not almost, but altogether composed of them is a consummation devoutly to be wished. But at present its heart is set on something else, currency reform. Currency reform means war against the injustice of capital to labor. The Single Tax is fighting to make capital honest before labor in its relation. It cannot afford to wander from its cause. It needs to strike always and to strike in the same place. To wobble is to lose its effect.

The labor party, in its different forms, is earnest and to be respected, but the Single Taxer cannot act with it because half its efforts are directed to destroying other labor as innocent and neutral as its own. It may excuse its high-handedness on the ground of every form of labor being now so hard pressed, but it cannot join hands with it, its object being to free labor and keep it free forever.

Neither can it work with the prohibitionists.

The state socialists is really a European party imported over here, and the Single Tax has fought it too much. It will never hurt us, and by preparing the minds of its members for a radical change it will help us. But there are other forms of socialism toward which the minds of some of the best men and women in the country are leaning. Why should the Single Taxer fight them? Do we want to alienate from us the best of person? They include land in their program, though they do not put it first. Why not let them abstain from pushing them from us, and let us do our work with them whenever we can sincerely cooperate.

The anti-trust, like the labor party, is a natural ally of the Single Tax party, but how can the Single Taxer work with those who would destroy trusts by many forms of special legislation against them, thus adding to the chaos of minor laws already existing? Nobody but a Single Taxer can so define a trust as to include in it all that is wrong and exclude that part which is not. It is the right of capital to combine in order to increase its earnings. If, then, Single Taxers want to win the

arena, why not call them the "Single Tax Anti-Trust League?"

The silver question belongs to the general problem of the relation of capital to labor. This is the essential ground of the populists, the socialists, and the trade unions. At the present time it is not, as we have seen, a Single Tax question. We believe that capital properly acquired and property subordinated to labor is not in itself an oppression. And until it is so acquired and so subordinated, it cannot be without the Single Tax, it cannot be right. It will get the upper hand some day, but not if all opposition.

Anti-expansion is certainly not a Single Tax question, but in so far as it has expanded or do expand it affords a splendid opportunity for propaganda work. Land and taxation are now brought to the front as never before. Both are under constant consideration, and all the civil communities should be flooded with Single Tax literature. Many persons, favorable to the cause, but not converts to the cause, would like to see a modified trial of them, and would promote it if the opportunity were offered. We would not, of course, upset the vested rights of the nation against their consent, but there is much land in the newly acquired territory so situated that Single Tax principles can be applied to it. And in Cuba, which so many of our societies and institutions have set themselves to help, each in its own way, the Single Tax would bring itself into favorable and justifiable position on its own line by taking part in a work like that of Mr. Howard's "Cuban Industrial Relief," which is simply a "vacant land industry" on a colossal scale independent of politics or parties, and permeated with the good will towards a starving agricultural population which for nothing but to get once more on their feet and in a position to gain their living from the land by their own hard work. Single Taxers are not going to be always obstructionists. Sooner or later constructive statesmanship will be required of them, and it will be well if they tried their hand now at constructive public work wherever the smallest chance for it is open to them.

As long as the political interest of the Single Tax is out of the question the Single Taxer of course must work for the victory in the election of that party whose success he considers most desirable at the present moment. But it is not fair to his own special cause for him to do this in the name of the Single Tax, because thereby he prejudices against it uselessly those who differ from him in matters which have no direct connection with the Single Tax. Our enemies are the persons who are willing to be or to become rich regardless of their own consciousness of right and of the rights and welfare of others. Let us antagonize only those.

Now I wish to go a step further. As the "south" will never give its "aid" in earnest in favor of the Single Tax, if this party to succeed it must be by

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help of votes obtained in mass from the republican party of the "north." The majority of these votes come from the laboring classes: the farmers, the mechanics, the small shopkeepers. There may be some coercion, but on the whole they vote for that party because they believe in it. Parties are kept up by tradition. Most persons continue in their own from affection for the party itself. They have an underlying conviction as a tradition in their family that it will be best on the whole for their party to be in power, even though in some special measure it may be on the wrong side. Besides this inherited affection for a party which their fathers and grandfathers helped to form, and which in its beginning saved the life of the republic these is also a special tradition among the republicans against free trade. Free trade and slavery were two party cries that in the old days went together, and the opprobrium which attached to the one extended to the other. "Give a dog a bad name and hang him." It also cannot be denied that the (so-called) working classes like protection for its very name. They hold passionately to laws that are supposed to protect them in the obtaining of employment and in keeping up their wages—to either tariff or immigration laws, or both. They know from dire experience how hard the world is on them, and how much they need, as things are now, some special help against it. It is these considerations quite aside from an abstract arguing of the matters at issue which cause the "plain people" in the old and dominant states of the north to be for the most part republicans, anti-freetraders, and protectionists.

Labor, like capital, is timid. It fears a change lest it be worse off. The mercantile, now called the protective, system dates back to the beginning of the sixteenth century. A hundred years have passed since Adam Smith's powerful book produced a profound impression against it, but the modified free trade he taught has had but one practical triumph: the repeal of the corn laws in England, a country in which agriculture does not count for much, and whose manufactures were already established. Everywhere else protection reigns, and England has not been able even to convert her own colonies. All this the ordinary practical republican, whose existence depends upon his labor, sees, and from it he draws his inference. He does not care for the protective policy for its own sake, but because it seems to "work," and he is not sure that free trade or a tariff for revenue only, would. Protection has never been accepted by him nor by the people in general as a *moral* question whether they were for it or against it. The test of a moral question is that what it calls for should be done though ruin follow. Antislavery stood that test, but a campaign orator who should declare that we ought to have free trade even if it ruin us and enrich England and Germany at our expense, would soon be called off the field.

Behind protection, which is only an incident, lies

the tariff itself. And the chief use of the tariff is to meet the national expenses. That is its stronghold. The great weight of sentiment in the United States is in favor of raising the revenue by a tariff; for we *must* have a revenue, and it is generally felt that there is no other way to raise it so easily and with less sense of exaction on the part of those that are to pay it. This question has been discussed, so to speak, night and day during the whole period of our national existence. The arguments on both sides have been worn threadbare. All persons who think have made up their minds on the one side or the other. Would it not be better to let it drop for a while, and present the Single Tax as an entirely new governmental policy, and as such to be considered on its own merits, with independent and impartial judgment? In fact, is not free trade itself really waiting for the land question?

Mr. George says, in his "Political Economy," p. 175:

When the mercantile system came into political issue in the agitation for the repeal of the corn laws it was not among merchants and manufacturers, but in the power of the landed interest, that the strong defense of this system was seen to lie;

and on p. 182:

What Smith had done was after all an evasion—a settlement which left the cardinal principles unsettled.

The time has now come for establishing these cardinal principles by overthrowing the old form of land tenure, and it is needlessly hindering the work to insist, not upon the Single Tax itself, but on a Single Tax *philosophy*. What is it to be a Single Taxer? It is to believe that "land is rightfully the property of the people in common," and that by the Single Tax alone can this right be secured to them. It has but two articles. Those who accept them are Single Taxers. The Single Tax philosophy is another thing. Philosophy is always a bore to practical minds, and even theoretical minds object to swallowing the whole of a philosophy as a consequence of accepting one of its terms. Why force this upon them? Convert them to all that is necessary in order to be a Single Taxer, and let the rest bide its time.

Moreover, it is not according to Yankee common sense to let go of one way of raising the revenue until public opinion is committed to another. To talk of direct taxation for national expenses is useless. Popular sentiment is, and has always been, invincibly opposed to it. It is not enough to have a theory of what *ought* to be done. What is wanted is a theory of what *can* be done. The tools of politics are the minds of the people. No free trader, before the appearance of "Progress and Poverty," ever formulated a working theory for raising the national income if the tariff were abolished. Henry George has given us such a theory, and in the short time since it was promulgated it has gathered in its support a body of earnest and enthusiastic workers counting up into the thousands.

But even if we did find some third method, and

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abolished the tariff tomorrow, what would be gained? The Single Tax would not be hastened, but postponed. All those who had voted for free trade would insist upon seeing how it worked, and would be violently opposed to upsetting business by another change until this one had been thoroughly tried. Moreover, there is no immediate prospect of abolishing all tariffs whichever party gets into power? Why, then, refuse to accept a convert to the Single Tax until he has first accepted free trade? Why saturate all Single Tax literature so thoroughly with free trade that it cannot be circulated among republicans, and so is seldom read by them? Why, above all, insist (for that is practically doing so) that a republican convert to be in good and regular standing must enter the Single Tax fold *via* the democratic party? Does not the astonishing want of practical success of the "Wealth of Nations" compared with its brilliant theoretical success, indicate that in the evolution of progress free trade is waiting for another factor in the controversy to come to the front in order to be perceived in its true light? Why deliberately enter upon a succession of three long, arduous, and passionate struggles: first against protection; next, against all tariffs; and third, against the private ownership of land;—when but one is necessary? Let free land be obtained, and free trade is at hand. Let free trade come, and free land is postponed indefinitely.

A great deal of the denunciation of parties in power by parties out of power falls wide of its mark because the points of view are so different. The latter have only their opinions to formulate, the former have something to *do*, and they must act in view of lasting results and the impartial judgment of history. All statesmanship whose results are found sufficient and consonant with human nature to endure is judged favorably, and perfect ideas inaugurated but found impracticable. Whatever its methods, an administration is likely to be sincere, and denunciation should fall upon its policy alone, and not on its motives.

But why stop on party when the worlds of labor and of capital that overrun the limits of all parties are waiting to hear the two great questions of land and labor exhaustively discussed; waiting to understand clearly their relation to the present need? And the present pressing need is not greater general wealth, but better exchange, but all and simply a *just distribution*.

The Single Tax reform is the heir of all the earth's resources are unbounded. It is literally "rich in the spoils of time." Not a page of history, not a page of modern life but abounds with facts to prove its arguments or to point its moral. It needs no pettiness, no bitterness, no vindictiveness in order to gain power. It gathers momentum from its own rolling. Unlike the French revolutionists it does not wish to turn the present occupants of the house of Opportunity out into it the ousted tenants. It intends to bless

And all need it equally, for the poor is even less than that of the oppressor is greater oppressed. With all its consciousness of the tyranny over the worker, the long run vain. Today the power in which may not be the near descendant of the worst, when the intellectual is wholly imbruted by constant above, the effect is not so bad of society upon the descendant can find a place in the new with the Hoe," but we cannot Louis XV.

When comes our next rush in which we are living the Single Tax ought to be a country that it will be spontaneous; that men from all parties are ready for a new organization fight once on, the victory is at hand!

OBSERVATIONS OF A

THE following observations were made on a business trip just completed, embracing cities, contained within a territory. St. Paul, Denver, Galveston,

In all of the cities visited, Galveston, the large wholesale business of various lines of business in 1899 exceeded that of 1890 to 200 per cent., and in business than they could attain. They were naturally feeling very good and were convinced that prosperity smiled upon the nation.

That was their side of the matter. The other side that we do not hear of in the newspapers. I learned that they were working harder and often at night, than ever before. That *their* condition was really due to two reasons—they worked longer hours, and purchased less on account of the advance in the price of commodities. A notable result of prosperity, perhaps.

With regard to manufacturing, I am not personally familiar with conditions except in a few cases. Reports are correct the wages have advanced in a limited number of places per cent. Marvelous! Factories received the fabulous sum of

injury of being too poor. The hurt of the oppressed of the oppressed world has been in no position of real power. The workingman or woman. And even at the present time the laborer has been used upon it from the result of this state of "idle born." We are on for "The Man with the Hoe," but we cannot do anything with or for a

man, which in the future in a few years, understood in this way, turned to for reform. Some forth in multitudes to push it. And God speed the

JULIA A. KELLOGG.

THE LIVING MAN.

made on a business trip just completed, embracing thirty-three large cities, contained within a territory. St. Paul, Denver, Galveston, and Washington, the exception of retail concerns in the cities that their business in previous years from 1890 to 1899 they had more

The proprietors of the business, over the result, had once more

But there is another side about—at least the employees that the day, and more the same wages! The now that the wages are low, and the most unive of such is an inevitable result of such is an inevitable

establishments, I am not personally familiar with industrial conditions except in a few cases. The newspaper employees have been raised from 5 to 15 cents a day, now receive

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from \$1.57 to \$1.72 a day. Think of it! In the great leather tanneries in Milwaukee, thousands of industrial slaves are toiling from ten to twelve hours a day for \$8.00 and less per week. The salaries of saleswomen in the large department stores throughout the country visited vary from \$5.00 to \$8.00 per week. I have not heard of a single case where there has been a general advance in wages in any of the large wholesale or retail establishment in any part of the country.

A large wholesale dry goods business was recently organized in St. Louis, the organizers and working force of which were drawn from one of the existing houses. But the sixty vacancies that were caused in the old house were immediately filled from the ranks of the unemployed, of which there is still a large army in every city, notwithstanding the prosperity-tooter's assertion that "jobs are looking for men."

It is evident to me that this fleeting wave of so-called prosperity had its origin in the reduced price of land and exceptionally good crops, for which there has been a fair market and fair prices, but this prosperity has not spread to all classes in the community. Besides, it seems to me that the indications are that the tide is about to turn, for the injurious effects of tariff legislation, coupled with a rising market in land, will result, as it invariably has done in the past, in another industrial depression.

On the train from Kansas City to Denver were two gentlemen unknown to me. We were conversing on general topics, and finally drifted to the industrial question. One of them remarked to me that there was no reason in nature why poverty should exist among such a large percentage of the population; there was plenty of fertile unused land which any one who wanted to ought to have a perfect right to settle upon and use without paying any one else for the privilege. He went on to say that if land were taxed up to its full rental value the land shark would disappear. It did not take me long to discover that both of these gentlemen were "sure enough" Single Taxers. They were residents of Colorado, and assured me that within five years the Single Tax would be established in that state.

A few days later, on a train from Pueblo to Fort Worth, I got into conversation with a gentleman who was born and raised in Texas. He had served three terms in the Colorado legislature (one term in the capacity of speaker), and is now practicing law in Seattle. He was a characteristic Westerner, six feet tall, and a splendid specimen of vigorous manhood. We were alone in the smoking compartment of the sleeper, and the first thing we knew, found ourselves discussing the Single Tax. He was very frank in stating his views, and said that, as a land owner he was opposed to the Single Tax, for his interests as such might be jeopardized, but at the same time he admitted the justice of the Single Taxer's argument. After a while he de-

clared that while he might lose as a landlord he would be more than compensated for any loss in the general prosperity that would follow its application. One of his closest friends is an ardent Single Taxer, judge Benson of the superior court of Seattle. He also spoke very highly of James M. Bucklin, a Single Tax lawyer of Grand Junction, Colo., who has recently been sent by the legislature of that state to investigate the industrial condition of New Zealand, with special reference to the system of taxation now in force in that country. He was speaker of the lower house in Colorado when Mr. Bucklin introduced a bill for local option in taxation which passed by that branch of the legislative, but was defeated in the senate.

E. B. SWINNEY.

THE MENACE OF MONOPOLY.*

THE friends of the trusts have a right to demand of us proof that their combinations are subversive of the natural rights of men. We have no ground for interference unless we can show that they are doing wrong, that they are unjust.

Do I wrong any one if I sell my labor to the highest bidder? My right to freedom is the basis of my right to ask my neighbor as much as I please for my labor. My neighbor's right to freedom is the basis of his right to pay what I ask or not, as he chooses. If my neighbor and I unite for the purpose of raising the exchange value of our labor, no law can interfere with us without invading our liberties. The same principle that gives a man a right to ask all he can for his labor gives the manufacturer a right to ask all he can get for his wares. The same principle that gives two or more workman a right to combine to raise the exchange value of their labor gives two or more manufacturers a right to combine in the hope of getting a larger return for their exertion. We do not call trade unions conspiracies of labor. Why call trusts conspiracies of capital? No wrong can be committed by a mere act of combination. If it is not wrong for men to combine, what is wrong about the trusts? Find the wrong, and restrict that.

These combinations are not in themselves wrong. How, then, do they become agencies of harm? If the trust has power not only to ask high prices but to compel the people to pay them, it is not only a harmless combination of capital, it is a monopoly, and therefore a menace to liberty.

Suppose a trust is effected including all the iron industries in the United States. The people say: "You ask too much for your iron. We will buy elsewhere; we will go abroad." But there is a law by which they are fined if they go abroad for their iron. That law is a bull pen of their own construction into which the trust drives them. There is the element of

Extracts from a speech delivered at the Anti-trust Conference in Chicago, February 12, by Herbert S. Bigelow, of Cincinnati.

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injustice, not in the combination, but in the unjust law which gives to the combination the character of a monopoly. Justice demands, not that the combination should be punished for taking advantage of the law, but that the law should be repealed.

But the trusts have picked up from our social system another weapon of infinitely greater power. The control of public highways is clearly a governmental function. Tremendous are these powers of government that we have left in private hands. It is the function of the state to see that men have equal rights on these great avenues of steam and electricity. Let these be subject to private control, and you have taxation without representation. People are more dependent upon trunk lines than upon armies and navies. It is as safe to farm out the defense of the nation as to let these highways for thoughts and things in the possession of private corporations whose stocks increase in value with the growth of population, whose rates are always as high as the traffic will stand, and whose favors are more coveted than the smiles of a sovereign. Do you believe interstate commerce commissions can ever prevent the thousand ways by which these highwaymen may favor some and ruin others? Is it time to demand that these public highways shall be operated directly by the people, to the end that no man may have this service as cheaply as another, and that all may have it as cheaply as possible?

But the trust has a more deadly weapon still. The abolition of land monopoly cannot be omitted from any effective anti-trust programme. We do not wish to restrict the liberties of the trusts. We wish to destroy those social conditions which furnish the trusts the opportunity to restrict the liberties of others. The present property laws in regard to land furnish such an opportunity, and we demand, therefore, that they be changed and made to conserve the natural rights of all.

When a man makes a pair of shoes the law of property protects him in his right of private ownership in those shoes. Suppose the shoemaker wishes to change shoes for a slave. The law says: "No. No man may own shoes. All men have a right to own shoes. But for that very reason no man has a right to own slaves."

Now men are not the only things that cannot be made subject to private property without the submission of property rights. A corporation buys of a city council a 99-year franchise. What has the council sold? What did not belong to it or the people presented—the privilege of taxing future generations. You cannot respect the right of private property in these long term franchises without abrogating the property rights of unborn generations. A half century ago we add millions to the value of the franchise. These millions must be paid by the people who use the street. Shall they pay extortionate sums for the use of what

is really theirs, because of the folly or the wickedness of dead men?

But there is another kind of franchise that deserves attention. A pioneer settles on the shores of Lake Michigan. The state issues to him a franchise, not for one generation, nor for three, but a perpetual franchise guaranteeing to him and his descendants forever the exclusive use of that farm. A few generations pass and his farm becomes the centre of the great metropolis of the west. The heirs of these pioneers toil not, neither do they spin, yet Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of them. They have castles for their homes. They buy princes and marry daughters. They live in lordly revel like the patricians of ancient Rome. Courts are their oracles, legislators their lackies, and across the land their deep shadows are beginning to fall while the light of liberty is fading from our view.

When the state issued to him a perpetual franchise to collect from future generations the rent for that ground it gave them a legal right of confiscation over the property of all useful citizens. Men have a right to charge their fellows for the use of it without denying to all but a class their inalienable property rights.

How does the coal trust compel people to pay its prices? It simply takes advantage of the unjust laws of property by which it is possible for individuals or corporations to gain exclusive control of coal fields. Destroy the monopoly of the business locations in Chicago, destroy the monopoly of the roads leading into the city, and destroy the monopoly of the mines, and what power for harm would the trust have?

But there are some who say the trust is the result of evolution. Do not disturb it. Let it grow, and when it is of age we will make it the adopted child of the commonwealth." There is truth in that view. It would be folly to attempt to legislate against the legitimate results of evolution, to throw obstacles in the way of a natural tendency. But men lose sight of the chief factor in evolution. We are makers of our own destiny. Evolution is a ship which must be manned by men who are resolute to do the right, and who hold the helm of justice with a steady hand. This republic under no compulsion from heaven to live forever. We do not supply our history with a strong will to do the right, if we act as the irresponsible atoms of fate, if we do not understand that our God-given part in the work of evolution is to do the just thing always, and we may discover that, inevitably, in the course of evolution the men who will not be guided by faith in eternal justice are permitted to drift to their destruction.

If these combinations are a natural growth they cannot need the support of injustice. Nurse the evils of the combinations in the fond delusion that out of them there is to grow a better social order, and you may learn by bitter experience what history should teach you—that the only order that grows out of injustice is the order imposed by despotism. To permit

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wrongs to exist and call the conditions that grow out of them the results of evolution, is like calling national recklessness as to right and wrong "manifest destiny." The schoolboy knows that algebra problems do not solve themselves. If the trust problem is to be solved we must solve it. There are forces at work mightier than we, a wisdom transcending our own. We have not the wisdom to create a new civilization. That must grow. But we may co-operate with these forces that are evolving a better social order. Our part in this work is to do right, to clear away all injustice, that God's way may prevail.

Justice requires that all trade restrictions be removed, for these are sure to favor some at the expense of others. Justice requires that all public utilities be operated at cost, giving to each citizen, great or small, the same service for the same pay. Justice requires that the burden of taxation be placed where it belongs, upon ground rent, that no citizen may be deprived of his share in the common gifts of God. Neglect these reforms, and our liberties must "survive or perish in a convulsion."

THE KINGDOM OF MONEY.

THE principle of this nation, as set forth by the constitution, is love towards the neighbor, whose opposite is love of the world. European monarchies were erected on the basis of love towards the Lord, whose opposite is self-love.

European monarchies have long manifested the latter, the most evil of loves proper to man. With us, on the other hand, love of the world is becoming predominant; we began under the sanctions of charity—each for all, and all for each; we are continuing under the sinister opposite of each for himself. Thus at the opening of the twentieth century, the characteristic evil side of both monarchy and republicanism is uppermost; though both proclaim still their fealty to the Lord and to charity, or the neighbor, respectively. But this homage of vice to virtue no longer misleads the sturdy eyesight of common sense.

The modern ideal of love to the neighbor was less sublime than the old ideal of love to the Lord. As the former aimed less high, so has its fall been less profound. Monarchy, indeed, is now finally discredited; humanity pronounces it no longer sane or practicable. But democracy, in spite of its treason to itself, remains the best conception of the race; beyond it lies either blank anarchy, or a degree of human goodness which would at once bring heaven to earth, in which outward laws would be superfluous, because the law of the Lord would be inscribed upon the heart of each member of society, who would yield it spontaneous obedience.

Outward signs now seem to point to the triumph of anarchy; for the rich are arrayed against the poor, capital against labor, oligarchy against secular right;

the natural issue of which is the rising of the many against the few, and the overthrow of all institutions. But it is the business of members of the New Church to look through outward indications to the truths veiled by them. The question for them is, Is what is now happening only the orderly and inevitable process whereby good works itself clear of evil? . . .

But before democracy can realize its ideal its characteristic evils must develop; so once more demonstrating that man of himself can originate no good or truth. Accordingly we find our republic a body without soul; we are ruled not by ourselves, but by our love of the world in the guise of money. Money, or gold, is the concrete symbol of spiritual good, and gives power to enter into the material life around us, and in its measure to control it. We may love it in two ways; for the selfish uses it may serve, or for the unselfish ones. In both cases, the love is our life; but whereas in the latter case it is a spiritual life, the life of the golden rule, in the former case it is spiritual death, prompting us to favor ourselves at others' expense, seducing us to waste our energy in the effort to satisfy artificial wants or corporeal lusts, which ends in degrading disappointment; and this is the spectacle now uniformly presented in the community. Herein, too, is explained the puzzle of the unequal and so-called unjust distribution of wealth. Wealth selfishly employed is an evil and a curse, and the Lord designs to let us prove that to our satisfaction by permitting us to work out the experiment to the uttermost. Fortunes will increase on one hand and poverty on the other, until the false edifice of civilization topples over, and from its ruins the true civilization will arise.

For obviously, as soon as wealth, or gold, is used according to the golden rule, gold will cease to be required as a medium of exchange; all human wants of a material kind will be gratuitously supplied by the mutual good offices of all members of the community. Gold the symbol will then be displaced by gold the spirit, or good. There will be no rich and poor in the material sense; but on earth, as in heaven, the rich will be they who abound most in the works of love and charity, and the poor those who are least disposed to minister to others. Such, indeed, is the case today; but whereas today the truth is hid behind its veil, tomorrow the veil will be withdrawn.

The existing transformation of democracy into a moneyed oligarchy need not therefore disturb us, since it appears to be the orderly and indispensable step towards that true democracy in which each member is ruled by the Lord within him. We are passing through the Valley of the Shadow of Death; but that Valley must always intervene between altruism and all forms of self-love, or love of the world. The darker the shadow falls, the nearer do we draw to its end.

—Julian Hawthorne, in *New Church Messenger*.

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